

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
HERCULEAN STRAITS,
NOW CALLED THE
STRAITS of GIBRALTAR:

INCLUDING
Those PORTS of SPAIN and BARBARY
THAT LIE CONTIGUOUS THERETO.

I N T W O V O L U M E S.

Illustrated with several COPPER PLATES.

By Lieutenant Colonel THOMAS JAMES,
Of the ROYAL REGIMENT of ARTILLERY.

V O L. I.

L O N D O N:

Printed by Charles Rivington for the AUTHOR;
And sold by J. and F. RIVINGTON in St. Paul's Church-yard; T. CADELL
in the Strand; and J. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall.

MDCCLXXI.

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INCLUDING
Those Parts of SPAIN AND BARBARY
THAT LIE CONTIGUOUS THERETO.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Illustrated with Copper Plates.

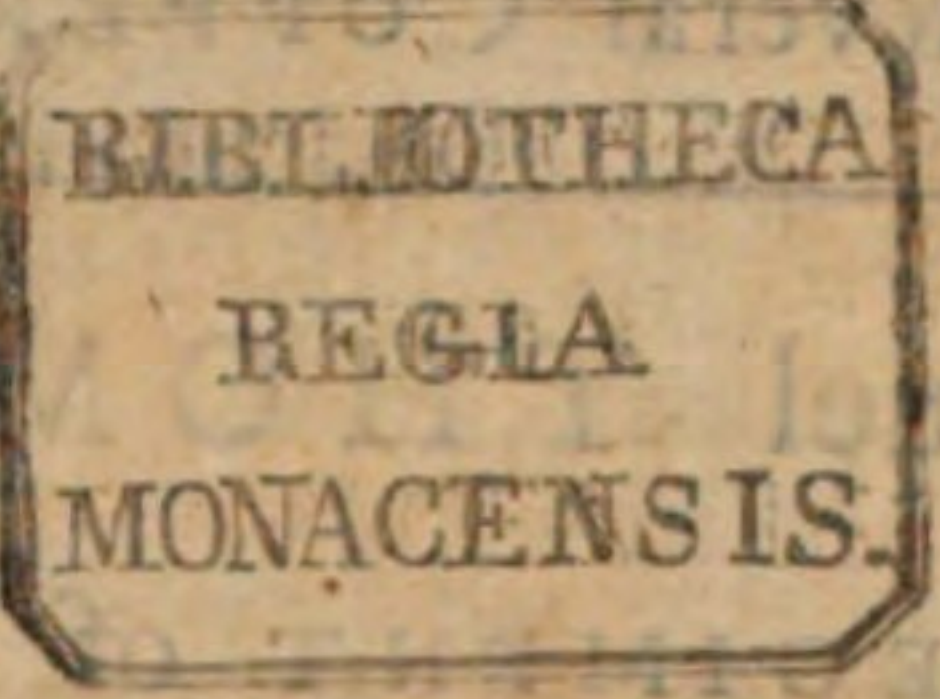
By Lieutenant Colonel
JAMES MONACENSIS
Of the Royal Artillery.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

Printed by Charles Rivington for the Author:
And sold by J. and F. Rivington in St. Paul's Church-yard; T. Cadogan
in the Strand; and J. Boscawen in Pall Mall.

MDCCLXXI.



To the Honourable

RICHARD MAITLAND.

DEAR COLONEL,

WHEN I had finished the following sheets, which I do myself the unspeakable happiness to lay before you, I was not at a moment's loss for an honourable patron to whom to dedicate my labours, indulged between king and country; because I have often been convinced of your esteem, by repeated favours, in field, garrison, and quarters.

You may one day, good Colonel, have the honourable command of that distinguished fortress of Gibraltar, resting a second Hercules, from the many labours which you have performed for the good of mankind and your country: these sheets therefore may save the disagreeable search into many authors for the real truths of those remarkable events that have happened in the Herculean Straits.

May

May I, Sir, see the day, when your name may be among the governours of Mons Calpe, one of the famed pillars of antiquity: an honour, no way, I hope, improbable, for a gentleman so deservedly enrolled among those worthies, which the pagan poet speaks of so many ages ago, and at a time when the veteran was rewarded:

Warriours, who greatly for their country bled;
Priests, whose chaste lives by strictest rules were led;
Bards, whose pure lore th' inspiring gods express'd;
Sages, whose life with new inventions grac'd;
All friends to man! by gracious deeds approv'd;
By grateful man remember'd and belov'd.— VIRG.

The love of our country is the love of mankind; the loving mankind, is loving one another: and this is the principle laid down by our blessed Saviour, as the very mark and criterion of a Christian: “A new commandment I give unto you, that ye love one another; even as I have loved you, that ye also love one another. By this shall

D E D I C A T I O N. v

“ shall all men know, that ye are my disciples,
“ ples, if ye have love one towards another.”

Here the Christian and pagan doctrines are the same; for merit will sooner or later have its reward: and, as Cicero says, “ For those
“ who have preserved, assisted, and aggrandized their country, there is a certain and
“ fixed place in heaven, where they are blest
“ with the enjoyment of eternal life.”

CIC. Somn. Scip.

If this book finds favour, the reward of the work will be sufficient to him, who, with real truth, subscribes himself,

DEAR COLONEL,

Your obliged, and

Most obedient servant,

NEW-YORK, VAUX-HALL,
June 13th, 1768.

THOMAS JAMES.

D E D I C A T I O N

"I shall all men know, that ye are my disci-
ples, if ye have love one towards another."
Here the Christian and pagan doctrines are
the same; for merits will sooner or later have
its reward: and, as Cicero says, "For those
who have preserved, assisted, and aggran-
tised their country, there is a certain and
fixed place in heaven, where they are bliss
with the enjoyment of eternal life."

Cicero de officiis lib. 1.

If this book finds favour, the reward of the
work will be sufficient to him, who, with real
truth, subscribes himself,

DEAR COLONEL,

Your obedient servant

Most obedient servant,

New York, Vauxhall,
June 1st, 1766.

THOMAS JAMES.

P R E F A C E.

AS the mountains of Abila and Calpe, with the Herculean Straits, the ancient cities of Gadir, Tingis, Ceuta, and Carteia, have made great noise in the literary and martial world; and as those histories are greatly detached among various authours, who are not reconciled with each other's opinion; and as it would give the curious a vast deal of labour and pains to search into so great a variety of books, to gain the latent facts by comparing them with each other; I was induced with those small abilities which God has bestowed upon me to throw together a compilation of the true history, extracted and blended, of those cities, straits, and coasts thereof, both of Spain and Barbary, for the satisfaction and amusement of those gentlemen in particular, who may have the honour of residing in that most valuable fortress of Gibraltar, one of the richest jewels that adorn the British crown. And as I resided six years in that garrison, I thought it an obligation due to the public, to write this history of Calpe, Abila, Tingis, and Gadir.

The reader will observe by the great disagreement of authours, the almost impossibility of absolutely vouching for the truth of any fact. The authour was therefore under the disagreeable necessity, in some particulars, to relate
events

events various ways from different authours, particularly of the Moorish invasion, which he hopes the candid reader may excuse.

I shall only observe, that my endeavour has been to get the truth of all history, relative to my design; and have taken the same liberty, comparing small things with great, as the authors of the Universal History have done: in which, to use the words of an ingenious gentleman, whom they have copied in this respect (1): “To translate, to imitate, or even literally to introduce any parts of the authours, from whom I have made my collection, if I found them conducing to the use or ornament of my design, not being able to discover any merit or cunning in varying the stile and sense of an authour for no other purpose than to conceal the ignorance of the transcriber, or to destroy an obligation of gratitude, which ought to be confessed to all mankind.”

(1) Mr. Lewis, in his preface to his *Origines Hebrææ*.

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OF THE
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T H E



THE
HISTORY
OF THE
HERCULEAN STRAITS.
BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

OF CALPE AND ABILA, THEIR NAMES AND ANTIQUITY; WITH
CARTEIA, TARTESSUS, HERACLEA, GADIRA, ETC.

THE hill Gibraltar was the Mons Calpe of the Ancients; a southern promontory of Spain, and almost the nearest to Africa. The Arabic جبل طريف or Phœnician name (1) signifies an earthen vessel, or hollow mountain resembling a vessel: for on the west side, and facing the setting sun, it is open like an urn or pitcher, and is described by the scholiast on Juvenal and Mela, and thence, says Sammes (2), it had its name. This is that mountain of which Pomponius Mela gives so perfect a picture, and in which many ages have made no alteration; "The (3) narrow sea then opens, and the mountains Abila and Calpe make the coasts of Europe and Africa appear nearer to each other than in reality they are; both these mountains indeed, but Calpe more particularly, stretch themselves toward the sea." Then, after describing the cave, which wonderfully appears a falling ruin; in the middle, and on that part of Mons Calpe,

(1) Ainsworth, Littleton, &c.
c. vi.

(2) Brit. p. 20.

(3) Mela, Lib. II.

facing the setting sun, he observes, " That beyond this is a bay, " where (as some think) Carteia is placed, formerly called Tar- " tessus, which the Phœnicians, who came from Africa, inhabited." Strabo (4) writes thus of it: " At that place stands Calpe, a " mountain in Spain, and forty furlongs distant, is the ancient and " famous town Calpe, formerly a station for the ships of the Spa- " niards; the town is reported to have been built by Hercules, " as among others Timosthenes, who says it was anciently called " Heraclea; and there is shewn to this day a large compass of " walls, with the ruins of a dock for ships."

Casaubon, in his notes upon this passage, is of opinion, it should be *Καρθηία πόλις*, for, says he, the thing itself shows, that Carteia is meant; and it may be gathered hence, that as often as mention is made of it below, nothing is said of its situation any where else; but a town called Calpe, is not even mentioned by any of the Ancients. Marcianus Heracleotas (5) makes Carteia fifty stadia from Calpe.

Bochart confirms Casaubon's opinion, and says, It is likely that Heraclea was the ancient name of Carteia from Hercules its founder; and Sir Isaac Newton (6) says, he was called Melcartus, from being king, prince, or governour of Carteia in Spain: it is sufficient to observe, that Calpe was the name of the hill of Gibraltar, and not of a town; for no town stood upon the hill, or at the foot of the mountain, till the coming of the Moors into Spain, but that Carteia was called Calpe Carteia, owing to the near situation to so remarkable a mountain, and to distinguish it from itself; the other in Celtiberia, and elsewhere. Pliny (7) places these towns in the following order: Belon and Mellaria; then the straits out of the Atlantic sea; then Carteia, called Tartessos by the Greeks; and then the mountain of Calpe, &c. again, Calpe, the utmost promontory of Spain. In the preface to his third

(4) Book III. (5) Vid. Conduit's account of Carteia, Phil. Transf. (6) Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 109. (7) Book III. c. i. of Europe, p. 31.

book of Europe, he says, " Now the whole globe of the earth is
 " divided into three parts, Europe, Asia, and Africa; the begin-
 " ning we take from the west, and the strait of Gades, where the
 " Atlantic ocean breaking in, is spread into the inland and Me-
 " diterranean seas: make your entrance there, I mean at the
 " straits of Gibraltar, and then Africa is on the right hand, Eu-
 " rope on the left, and Asia before you just between; the bounds
 " confining these, are the rivers Tanais and Nilus. The mouth
 " of the ocean at Gades (before mentioned) lieth out in length
 " fifteen miles, and stretcheth forth in breadth but five, from a
 " village in Spain called Mellaria, to the promontory of Africa,
 " called the White, as Tyrannius Gracula, born thereby, relates.
 " T. Livius and Cornelius Nepos have reported, that the breadth
 " thereof, where it is narrowest, is seven miles over, but ten miles
 " where it is broadest. From so small a mouth (amazing to confi-
 " der!) spreadeth the sea so huge and vast as we see, so exceeding
 " deep, that the marvel is no less in that respect: for why? in the
 " very mouth thereof, are to be seen many bars and shelves of
 " white sands, to the great terror of ships and sailors passing
 " that way: and therefore many have called those straits of Gib-
 " raltar, the entry of the Mediterranean sea. On both sides of this
 " channel, are two mountains set as frontiers, and ramparts to
 " secure it; namely, Abila for Africa, and Calpe for Europe, the
 " utmost end of Hercules's labours: for which cause, the inhabi-
 " tants of those parts call them, the two pillars of that god, and
 " do verily believe, that by certain drains, and ditches digged
 " within the continent, the main ocean, before excluded, made
 " way, and was let in, to make the Mediterranean seas, where be-
 " fore was firm land: and by that means the very face of the
 " whole earth is quite altered."

However, this story of digging is fabulous, as the nature and site
 of the two continents sufficiently testify; but the great love which
 the descendents of the ancient inhabitants of Carteia and Gades,

4 CALPE, ABILA, TINGIS, AND GADIRA.

(originally Phœnician colonies) bore to their founder, king, or governor, or first permanent establisher of colonies, the Tyrian Hercules, (who flourished about the days of Abraham) was so great, that they thought nothing extravagant to his god-head, who was, with Neptune, the tutelar deities of those cities; having by degrees degenerated into idolatrous worship, from that primitive patriarchal religion which Hercules established among them.

But here I must observe, that Gadira, Sepyla, Bætis, Calpe, Abila, &c. are not difficult to derive from the Phœnicians (8), who used the Syrian tongue, and had great affinity with the Hebrew, which was carried into Spain by the Tyrians.

This cave, mentioned by Mela, is narrow at the entrance, and wide within, like a pitcher, and now called St. Michael's cave. It is supposed (9) to have been derived from the Phœnician word Galpha, signifying the same thing; and that in Festus, Calparis is a kind of pitcher: but as I never yet met with the hill of Gibraltar being called otherwise than Calpe, I cannot so readily accede to that author's opinion; I should rather think Calpe is a dual name and signification, from Cal, a harbour, and Pe, or Pen, a hill, promontory, &c. for these reasons. The British word Pen, is derived from the Phœnician Pinnah (1), the cliff of a hill; that Alpin in that tongue (2) signifies a high mountain; that in the country of the Silures, now South Wales, there are many high cliffs, which the Britons, from the Phœnicians, call Penns to this day.

M. Rapin observes, that some derive Albion from a Greek word signifying white; because the coast of this island appears so at a distance; others, on account of their height, imagine Albion comes from the Celtic word Al, which in that language signifies high; and Mr. Pezron (3) says, that Cale and Cala is a port or harbour, from Cal, which signifies the same thing with the Celtæ; that calo-

(8) Turquet's Hist. of Spain, Book 1. p. 3. Sammes's Brit. (9) Sam. Brit.
(1) Idem, p. 60. (2) Idem, p. 49. (3) Vid. Ant. of Nations, p. 270.

nes (4), foldier's boys, fervants in an army, that carried wood and water fit for foldiers, were taken from the Celtic Cale, a wood: therefore the ancient name of Calpe, might allude to a double or treble fignification. The high woody mountain, or the harbour, or port of the high woody hill; that wood formerly grew upon this rock, I fhall prove in the courfe of this hiftory. Befides the haven fituated upon the Euxine fea, called Calpas (5), under a goodly high land; there is a creek or fmall harbour, fituated in the ifland of Majorca, at about three leagues and a half from the fmall ifland Cabrera, which is to this day called Calla-pe, where is room for ten gallies to ride at anchor (6), it being four hundred paces in length, environed with fuch high rocks and precipices that it is impoffible to land there: that many bays round this ifland, as likewise Minorca, ftill retain the ancient name Cala, a harbour.

Pezron (7) thinks, that Bardicala, or Burdigala, Bourdeaux, came from the word Cala-is made Portus Iccius, which we now call Calais, oppofite to Dover; that the ancient Latins turned the Gaulifh word Cal into Cale, juftly rendering it Portus; that thence came the word Portus-cale, that is, Port a Port, Portugal, a kingdom that took its name from this city: and fo this name is Celtic, as well as Lufitania, which amounts to as much as the country of the Lufians, who were originally Celtæ, that mixed with the Iberians. In fhort, Lifbon fignifies no more than the habitation of the Lufians, and that its true ancient name was Lufibona, from which they made Ulyffibona, as if it had been the refidence of Ulyffes, which, fays M. Pezron, is a fiction of the Greeks, who are full of fables. But if Ulyffes found Calypfo in a cave (8) with her maids, in the ifle of Gades, I fee no reafon why Ulyffes might not have been in that part of Spaneja now called Portugal.

That Penninus Mons, and Apenninus, the Apennine hills, come from the Celtic word Pen, or Penn, a head, top, or high place;

(4) Idem, p. 270. (5) Raleigh's Hift. World, Book III. Sect. xv. p. 400.
(6) Campbell's Hift. of the Balearics, p. 27. (7) Ant. of Nations, c. ii. p. 270. (8) Sir Ifaac Newton's Chronology, p. 233.

and

and perhaps they were the Umbrians and the Sabines, who were the descendents of the Celtæ, that anciently gave these mountains of Italy this name: (9) therefore, if we, agreeably to this author, join Cal, a harbour, to Penn, Pen, or Pe, a high place, we have the Calpen or Calpe of the Ancients, signifying the harbour of the high hill, or mountain; as Gibraltar bay most undoubtedly was to the amazing rock, or Mons Calpe; particularly at the north end, where their barks most probably anchored; and where the Levant wind blows more steady.

It is clear from most authors, that Penn a hill comes from the Phœnician Pennah (1), and Tra from Tera, signifying a castle; which initial words occur frequently in the names of Cornish places, which were inhabited originally by Phœnician traders, whose remains on our isle, are fully described by Stukeley, Cook, Borlase, Camden, and others (2).

By Tre, Ros, Pol, Caer, and Pen,
You may know the most Cornish men:

i. e. a town, heath, pool, church, castle or city, promontory, or foreland.

In that part of Gaul near the Alps, the Gaulish Jupiter was called Penninus, and those high mountains Penninæ, from the Celtic word Pen, which signifies a head, an height, or summit (3).

I am not unacquainted with the opinion of the translator of Titus Livius, with John Freinsheim's supplement; that the origin of the word Apennine is wholly uncertain (4), though many grammarians have laboured hard to ascertain it; Isidorus, for instance, B. XIV. c. viii. of Origins, says, Apennines is as it were Alpes Penninæ, where Hannibal passed the Alps, at his coming into Italy.

(9) Pezron. idem, p. 288. (1) Smollett's Hist. Eng. vol. I. p. 3. (2)
Camden's Remains, p. 98. (3) Universal Hist. vol. XVIII. p. 573. (4)
Titus Livius, Book X. c. xxvii. p. 249. n.

Waving this remark, I shall proceed. The Gauls worshipped Apollo, under the name of Belenus, which god was not the sun (5); however, they paid religious worship to that luminary, though under other names. First the Pennini, inhabitants of the Alps, owned for the sun the god Penninus or Pennin, whence that chain of mountains derived its name, as may be learned from Titus Livius. "But indeed these mountains do not take their name from the passage of the Pæni or Carthaginians over them, but from that deity, whom the mountaineers or inhabitants thereof call Penninus (6)."

Guichenon has presented to us the inscription that was upon the pedestal of a fine statue that represented this god, under the figure of a young man naked, which was conceived in these terms: L. LUCILIUS DEO PENNINO OPTIMO MAXIMO DONVM DEDIT (7). L. Lucilius presents this to the most powerful and excellent deity Penninus.

We must not however dissemble, says the abbé Banier, what we are told by Cato and Servius (8), that this was not a god, but a goddess, whom the one calls Pennina, and the other Apennina: but both the figure and the inscription inform us of the contrary. The historian of Savoy subjoins these words: "Upon the mountain of Little St. Bernard, which belongs to the valley of Aoste, is a pillar of marble, fourteen feet high, dedicated formerly to the god Penninus, upon which was a carbuncle, called Penninus's Eye: the statue of that god was afterwards carried off, and that of Jupiter put in its place, and then the carbuncle was called Jupiter's Eye." 'Tis certain, however, that notwithstanding this change, the worship of Penninus was not abolished, and the mountaineers continued to pay adoration to him.

The learned are at a loss to find out what god this Penninus was; it would appear at first sight, that he was Jupiter himself, as

(5) Abbé Banier's *Mythology and Fables of the Ancients*, Vol. III. Book vi. c. viii. p. 274. (6) Dec. iii. l. II. 38. (7) Guichenon. *Hist. Savoy*, tom. I. (8) *Æn.* iii.

the epithets Optimus, Maximus seem to insinuate: but the author of the History of the Religion of the Gauls (9) proves, that he was the sun, and that the eye of Osiris is the same, who in Egypt represented the sun.

“ The highest mountain of the Alps, called Rochemelon, says
 “ Keyser (1), lies on the left hand entering Italy, between Fertiére
 “ and Novalesé, where the traveler from his toil is well rewarded
 “ by an astonishing prospect over the Milanese, the Trevigiana,
 “ Venice, &c. imagined to be the mountain, from whence Han-
 “ nibal encouraged his army, by a view of the splendour and ferti-
 “ lity of Italy. And that it is said, a statue of Jupiter formerly
 “ stood upon the top of Rochemelon; perhaps, says my author, it
 “ has been obliged to give way to one of the Virgin Mary, which
 “ is now set up there. Mass is annually said at this place on the
 “ 5th of August.”

Mr. Sammes (2) will have it, that from the word Pen, came the mountains Penninus and Apenninus in Italy, which were derived from the Britons; Pen, with them, signifying a high and steep hill, by which name, there are many called in this island, as Penmanmour, Pendle, Pendennis, &c. Camden (3) says, “ That Pen
 “ is in British, the top of a hill or mountain;” and Sammes says,
 “ The Britons borrowed their Pen from the Phœnician Pinna,” signifying the same thing; and indeed the Welch distinguish the top, or highest part of men, women, children, &c. by this word Pen, a head. Pen (4), hath many significations in British, as the head, a captain, leader, principal, chief, the beginning, the top or summit, the end; because all these are as the head of the body: whence also it signifies a cape or promontory. Pen Britannicè tot habet significata quot Heb. ראש Rosh. Est enim, caput, princeps, præcipuus, initium, cacumen, vertex, finis (5), &c.

(9) Vol. 1. p. 404, & seq. (1) Travels, vol. 1. Savoy, 287. (2) P. 64.
 (3) Camd. Rem. p. 102. (4) Richard's Welch Dict. under the article Pen, a head. (5) Davis.

Many mountains and hills have received their names from the British Pen. Pen (the head) is so well known to be used for hills, saith E. Lhwyd, that little need be said: not only Pennigent and Pendley in Lancashire are supposed to be thence derived, but also the Apennine mountains of Italy, by Camden and others. Pen, caput & montis cacumen summum: inde Penninis Alpibus nomen, non a Pœnis, ut aliqui volunt (6).

And altho' Albion may be derived from the Greek ΑΛΒΟΣ, the Roman Albus, or the Sabine Alpus, which signify white, applied to the chalky cliffs of Britain seen from the continent; or more probably from the Celtic word Alp, or Alb, which carry the same meaning, as Smollett (7) and others think: yet I am apt to believe, that Albion was from the rocks on the western shore, where the Phœnicians first landed, called to this day Pens, from the whiteness of its shores; for Alpin in the Phœnician tongue is a high mountain, and Alben, in the same dialect is white (8); therefore if you take away the C from Calpe, you have the Alpe, Alpen, Alpin, a high hill or mountain; and join the C, you have the Calpe, or Pen, of the Ancients, signifying the harbour or port of the high woody mountain, whose bold rocky promontory shoots out the nearest to Africa, and thereby becomes one of the headlands of Spain.

Although Strabo calls Calpe a famous sea-port, yet certain it is, that ancient authors are neither well agreed, nor easily reconciled about the situation, names, and other particulars relating to those dark times. Thus for instance, (9) Calpe, which is by Strabo stiled a famous sea-port, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain; whence the learned Bochart and Casaubon, have thought, that Calpe in the former, was inserted by the mistake of the transcriber for Carteia; especially as no mention is made in other

(6) Bochart. (7) Hist. Eng. Vol. I. p. 2. (8) Samm. Brit. p. 19. (9) Universal Hist. vol. XVIII. B. IV. c. xxiv. p. 473.

authors of any city besides it, in that bay; but this has been in a great measure answered by some learned men, from an inscription on a medal with these letters, C. I. CALPE, that is, as they read it, Colonia Julia Calpe, and this they support by Nicholas Damascenus, who says, that Octavius overtook Cæsar, near the city of Calphia, which is the same with Calpe; so that Strabo's text wants no amendment, and one of those opinions must be right, either that there were several cities situated on the mouth of the Straits, on account of the advantageous situation, one of which was called Calpe, or Calpa; or else the Carteia, which was situated near the promontory of Calpe, had likewise taken that name from it: and accordingly the Itinerary mentions a city in the road from Malaga to Cadiz, which he calls Calpe Carteia, joining these names, probably to shew they signified the same thing. And granting, that Strabo calls Calpe a famous sea-port, which Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain; yet I cannot from thence infer that a town was meant, but a famous sea-port, or harbour only, so called from the hill, i. e. the harbour of Calpe, meaning the bay; for Calpe was the sea-port or harbour of Pe, or Pen, the high hill. Or, that Pe, Penn, or Pen, was the head-land, or promontory (that projects into the strait, almost opposite Ceuta in Africa, from the narrow sandy isthmus, on the upper end of which stood Carteia) of Al, the high hill, which forms the harbour Cal, now Gibraltar bay: allowing this, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, are all reconciled: and as for mentioning a town in the road from Malaga to Cadiz, called Calpe, Calpa, Calpia, or Calpe Carteia; and which last, was only intended to distinguish it from itself, for Carteia was divided into an upper and lower town, by a strong wall and castle: and therefore the upper town nearest to Mons Calpe, was called Calpe Carteia, or Calpen Carteiam, as at other times it might have been called Calpa, and Calpia. It might also have been called Calpe Carteia, to distinguish it from the other in Celtiberia, and elsewhere;

where; for there were other towns called Carteia, though not in Spain; and it is needless to say that Gibraltar bay is, and ever was a famous harbour, and key to the whole Mediterranean sea: a jewel of so inestimable value, as to be one of the greatest lustres that adorn the British crown.

Carteia, or Calpe Carteia was situated at the bottom of the bay, where Rocadillo now stands.

I shall only observe, that no other town stood in the bay of Gibraltar, till the Moors invaded Spain, as shall be further taken notice of in the course of this work: the rock of Gibraltar, the Calpe of the Ancients in Europe, and Apes hill in Africa, the ancient Abila, were what they called the pillars of Hercules; though indeed the real pillars were those set up on Gadir, now Cadiz, by Hercules himself.

Let it then suffice, that the bay of Gibraltar was frequented by sea-faring people, as far back, as about the days of Abraham, under that great navigator the Theban, Egyptian, Phœnician, Tyrian Hercules, the Ogmius of the Gauls and Britons: the Midacritus of Pliny (1), the famous Melec-Cartha, the king of the city, which Bochart (2) supposes to be Tyre: but Sir Isaac Newton (3) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, governour, or prince of the city of Carteia in Spain. Hesychius says, that the Amathusians called Hercules by the name of Malic: he was a great navigator, and the first that brought lead from the Barac-Anacks, Cassiterides, or islands of Britain. According to others (5), he invented the shell purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth stained therewith.

This Hercules, or Melcartus, was the great and ancient god of Tyre. They anciently represented him in no form: his temple

(1) Book vii. c. lvi. (2) Canaan ubi sup. cal. 709. (3) Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 111, 112. (4) Apud Bochartum, ubi sup. (5) Incertus apud Suid. ad vocem.

had no images in it, a seeming, undeniable instance of his great antiquity (6): however, they deviated afterwards from this laudable custom, as may be seen in the reign of king Hiram.

Across the Straits, Abila rears his lofty head, one of the pillars of Hercules, as they are commonly called, and one of the principal mountains of Mauritania Tingitana: it was called Abyla (7), Abyla, Abila, Abina, Abinna, or Abenna, for such a variety of names it had: Abinna and Abenna seem to have been names given it by the Arabs, and the others it received from the Phœnicians. They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by Aldrete and Bochart; and Sammes (8) says it was sometimes written Alyba: that Festus witnesseth, that this mountain took its name from the Phœnicians, signifying in their tongue as much as a high hill.—“Abilam vocant,

“Gens Punicorum mons quod altus Barbaro.”

Ab-illaa, in the Phœnician tongue, is a high mountain, so is Al-aba, from whence comes the transposition Aliba for Abyla.

It has been mentioned by Strabo, Mela, Ptolemy, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Festus, Avicenus, and others. It is now called Apes hill, an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the Ancients, or, at least, the country adjacent to it. The next is those of Ceuta, a peninsula, that jettis out from the coast of Africa, which with the peninsula of Gibraltar, forms the mouth of the Straits. This was the Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphi of Ptolemy, almost contiguous to Abyla: between the promontory of Gibraltar called Europa point, and the promontory of Ceuta, which I call Africa point for distinction, (these two promontories being nearest to each other, of any other, i. e. either from the Atlantic ocean, or Mediterranean sea) with fierce impetuosity runs the rapid Strait: the Strait of Gibraltar, of Tartessida, from the city Tartessus;

(6) Univ. Hist. vol. II. b. I. c. vi. p. 338. (7) Idem, vol. XVIII. p. 186. (8) Sammes's Brit. p. 18.

of Gaditanum, from Gades, now Cadis; and the Fretum Herculeum, from Hercules: for so many appellations has it at different times been called. This Strait will be further considered in the course of this work; for the present, I therefore forbear. I know very well that many think a town called Heraclea stood at the foot of Calpe; among others father Mariana and Turquet (9), who say, "The Bastiles were within the Straits, along the Mediterranean sea, and were surnamed Pœni, continuing to the promontory of Charidemum, or Cape de Gates, and to Balaria now Bara, or Vera, next unto the Turdules, of which nation Calpe was, otherwise called Heraclea, the which at this day they name Gibraltar, near unto which in old time was the town of Carteia situated where Algezira now stands, and called Tartessus."

To which I answer, that no town but Carteia was ever built within the bay of Gibraltar from Europa and Cabereta points, until the coming of the Moors; Gibraltar and Algezira being the work of their hands, in which were many pieces of marble and other fragments carried by them to build, and ornament those towns, from the ruins of Carteia, as I shall further explain.

I must not omit, that Silius Italicus says, that Argantonius built Carteia, who died two hundred years after the building of Rome: but if Melec-cartha was king, prince, or founder of Carteia, I can only say, that Argantonius was likewise king of Carteia; for Hercules flourished many ages before this period, and I am certain, the Tyrians were the founders of that ancient city. Abraham died four hundred and sixty-seven years after the flood; and Hercules was two hundred and seventeen years old, when Abraham departed; Hercules was the grandson of Noah, and lived to the good old age of those times, and was buried in the island of Gades, in the six hundred and eighty-eighth year after the

(9) Hist. of Spain.

flood. Long after this, the Phocæans (a city of the Ionians) (1) were the first of all the Grecians who undertook long voyages, and discovered the coasts of Adria, Tyrrhenia, Iberia, and Tartessus, and were kindly received by Argantonius, the king of that country, who had then reigned eighty years, and lived but to the age of one hundred and twenty; though Silius Italicus writes, he lived to three hundred years (2); however, Pliny, out of Anacreon, only assigns him one hundred and fifty. These Phocæans had so much of his favour, that he at first solicited them to leave Ionia, and to settle in any part of his country, which they should choose; but afterwards finding he could not prevail with the Phocæans to accept his offer, and hearing they were in great danger from the increasing power of the Medes, he presented them with treasure to defray the expence of building a wall round their city, which he did with so liberal a hand, that the whole structure, comprehending no small number of stadia in circumference, was built with large and well compacted stone: these Phocæans were expert sailors, and had many ships; and because they had ravaged several territories, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians combined together to make war against them, each nation with sixty sail: the Phocæans, on their part, fitted out their fleet, consisting in all of sixty sail; and coming up with the enemy in the sea of Sardinia, fought and conquered; but obtained a Cadmean victory: for forty of their own ships were sunk, and all the rest having lost their prows, were utterly disabled: of those Phocæans, who lost their ships in the fight, many fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, and Tyrrhenians, who, at their first landing, stoned them to death, in the territory of Agylla: and it was not long before this action, when Argantonius died.

I cannot help observing, that Gades, Carteia, Calpe Carteia, Tartessus, and Heraclea, have been taken for the same place by

(1) Herodot. in Clio, p. 102.

(2) Mariana Hist. Spain.

different authors, for want of rightly knowing the site, division, and fort of Carteia at the bottom of Gibraltar bay, forty stadia from the north end of that mountain, and eighty from Europa point, or thereabouts. Carteia was the original name given by the Phœnicians, and divided by a wall or fort; when Canuleius the prætor manumitted the Hybridæ, the upper town was called Calpe Carteia, or rather Calpen Carteia; and the large square fort above the upper town, and next to Mons Calpe, was called Heraclea, being most likely built by him, before the foundation of Carteia was laid: but as for Gades, and Tartessus, we must look elsewhere for them.

Tartessus was a city by itself, and pleasantly situated between the two mouths of the river Bætis (3), which formed a kind of an island, called after the name of that city, Tartessida: this ancient city is celebrated by the Latin poets, as situated on the farthest verge of the western shore.

Under (4) Melcartus, the Tyrians sailed as far as Tartessus, or Tarshish, a place in the western parts of Spain, between the two mouths of the river Bætis, and there they (5) met with much silver, which they purchased for trifles: they sailed also as far as Britain before the death of Melcartus, for Pliny (6) tells us, that Midacritus was the first, who brought tin from the islands Cassiterides: and Bochart observes, that Midacritus is a Greek name corruptly written for Melcartus, Britain being unknown to the Greeks long after it was discovered by the Phœnicians.

Hercules having first built several cities in the Straits (7), passed them, and possessed himself of Tartessus, and Erythræa, which was called Gadir. Strabo says, that the Bætis formerly emptied itself at two different mouths into the sea; one of which is now stopped up; that the Phœnicians (8) went beyond the pillars of

(3) Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. (4) Sir Isaac Newton's Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, 110. (5) Aristot. de Mirab. (6) Book vii. c. lvi. (7) Sam. Brit. p. 47. (8) Strabo, Book I. p. 48.

Hercules, and built cities there, and even in the middle of the African coast, presently after the war of Troy.

Mariana writes (9), that on one of the mouths of the river Bætis, Mnestheus, the Athenian, built a city of his own name, which is now Port St. Mary's, and a temple between the two branches, which was called Oraculum Mnestheum.

The Phœnicians were the Tyrians (1), who built Carthage in Africa, and Carteia in Spain, and Gades in the island of that name without the Straits, and gave the name of Hercules to their chief leader, because of his labours and success, and that of Heraclea to the city Carteia, which he built, or rather to the fort; so Strabo (2): Mons Calpe, &c. "The mountain of Calpe lies to the right of those, who sail without our seas, and forty stadia from thence, is the ancient and memorable city of Carteia, built by Hercules, formerly a station for Spanish vessels. Among others, Timosthenes says, it was anciently called Heraclea, and there is shewn to this day (3) a large compass of walls, as also the ruins of a dock for ships: Strabo died in the second year of Augustus, and twenty-fifth of Christ (4)."

The Universal History places the ancient ports as follows; the first and next to Cales, is Portus Mnestheus, mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo, who likewise place here the oracle of that name: the next is that of Besippo, the country of the famous Pomponius Mela, and some others without the Straits' mouth, Calpe, Carteia, Barbesul, Cilniana, Salduba, Suel, and Malacca, now Malaga, within the Straits, and on the coast of the Bastula: "Carteia, Calpe, and Barbesul, according to Mr. Conduit, but according to Mariana, the coast of Barbesula began at Tarifa, where he imagined Carteia to have stood, when treating of the action between Cæsar's admiral, and Varro (5), who commanded for the

(9) Book I. c. iv. p. 9. (1) Sir Isaac Newton. Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 109. (2) B. III. p. 140. Vid. Phil. Transf. No. 359. (3) Strabo, Book III. p. 140. (4) Blair's Chronology. (5) Book III. c. vi. p. 47.

"enemy;"

“ enemy ; that the loss was equal, but that Varro shewed he
 “ had the worst, by putting into Tarifa, and drawing a chain
 “ across the entrance :” which of itself is a sufficient proof, that
 Carteia could not have been at Tarifa, because it is an open road,
 and therefore no chain could have been drawn before that town ;
 or at Algezira, or at Mons Calpe, but at Rocabillo, across the
 mouth of the Guadarranque : in another part of his history he
 places Tartessus (6) at Tarifa, and says, that running along the
 coast of the Mediterranean, there follows Malaga, and then the
 mouth of the Straits, formerly called Heraclea, or Calpe, now
 Gibraltar.

The more I consider the ruins at Rocabillo, and the transactions
 at and off Carteia, the more I am convinced that the ancient and
 famous city stood there ; I shall therefore dwell no longer, but
 conclude, that no town stood nearer to Mons Calpe, than at Ro-
 cabillo, the Carteia of the Ancients.

In the Phœnician tongue Cartha means a city ; Carteia the city ;
 a title worthy of its founder, who, for distinction sake, was called
 in the same tongue, Melec, (king) Cartha, (of a city) ; for Car-
 thada, or Carthago, is as much as a new city, in order to distin-
 guish Carthage from Tyre.

But I must observe, that Mariana does not give the honour of
 founding Heraclea to the Phœnician Hercules, but to the Argo-
 nauts (7) : who, after pillaging all the coasts of Asia, came as far
 as the mouth of the Straits, where Hercules built a fort called He-
 raclea, now Gibraltar ; from whence they made incursions, rob-
 bing the country, and had several encounters with the natives ;
 from thence they sailed about to Saguntum, and were well received,
 as being all Greeks.

Abraham, the patriarch, died one thousand eight hundred and
 twenty-one (8) years before the birth of our Saviour Jesus Christ :

(6) Book i. c. i. p. 2. (7) Mar. Hist. Spain. (8) Blair's Chron. Plate 3.

and this Greek Hercules, the son of Alcmena, died but one thousand two hundred and eighty-six years before Christ, the difference of five hundred and ninety-nine years: the former being about three thousand five hundred and eighty-six years since Carteia was built, and Gibraltar bay frequented by sea-faring men, under the Tyrian Hercules; and the latter two thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven.

Many years undisturbed did the Phœnicians enjoy Carteia, and the bay of Gibraltar, carrying on a great trade from Britain, Spain, Africa, and many isles, and countries, with the famous mart of Tyre, till about the six hundred and twentieth year before Christ, two thousand three hundred and eighty five years ago, when Argantonius (9) was king of the Tartessi, and probably of Carteia.

There is honourable mention made of Argantonius, who commanded upon the coast of the ocean, near towards Cales (1), happy in wealth, and long prosperity in all his affairs, and reigned eighty years; and withal loved justice. As the inhabitants of Gades, and some others, were kept in awe by him, and as he was king of the Tartessi, it seems as if he had wrested the city of Carteia out of the hands of the Phœnicians: yet the Gaditanans were not subdued, but they took arms upon all occasions; so that the people round about, conspired against them: who finding themselves not strong enough to oppose so many enemies, they resolved to call the Carthaginians to their aid, who in the end became masters of Spain, and in course of Carteia: Mariana says, the natives under Argantonius not only checked the Phœnicians, but drove them out of all the province of Bœtica, or Andalusia, and even out of the island of Cadiz; a thing the more likely, for that they were gone before to the relief of their own country, the city of Tyre being then besieged by the mighty king Nebuchadnezzar, after he had taken Jerusalem.

(9) Mar. Hist. of Spain, B. I. c. v. p. II. (1) Turquet's Gen. Hist. Spain.

Argantonius died about five hundred and fifty-three years before Christ, which is now about two thousand three hundred and eighteen years ago; the Phœnicians, after this, reinstated themselves in Cadiz, and other places; and built Medina-Sidonia, but were once more driven into the isle of Gadir, by Baucius Capetus, prince of the Turdetani. Carteia must have been in the hands of the natives: because the Phœnicians were driven from the continent into Cales, and the temple of Hercules at Medina-Sidonia burnt. When Baucius died, the Phœnicians of Gades were obliged to call the Carthaginians to their aid; who, after the death of Baucius, aimed at the sovereignty of all Spain, forgetting their friends the Phœnicians, and soon after took Cadiz from them, which actions rendered the Carthaginians odious to them: and particularly the inhabitants of Carteia, who were a mixture of natives and Phœnicians, maintaining their independency till Hannibal arrived in Spain (2), who took Carteia by storm, and then demolished it, it being a wealthy city, and the capital of that province; which struck so great a terror into the less considerable towns, that they submitted, and had a tribute imposed upon them: Hannibal was then twenty-six years old, about the five hundred and thirty-fourth year of Rome, two hundred and twenty before our Saviour, one thousand nine hundred and eighty-five years ago: it remained in the Carthaginian government, till the Romans wrested it out of their hands: when Publius Scipio was in Spain, in the five hundred and forty-eighth year of Rome, one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one years ago.

For Lælius, who commanded a Roman fleet and sea army, arrived at Carteia, having passed the Strait, that is, Europa point (3), at the entry whereof, this town is situated in a bay of the ocean. The Romans thought they should have means to surprise the town of Gades, by intelligence, as they had contrived with some of the

(2) Titus Livius, Book XXI. c. v. p. 297. (3) Turquet. Gen. Hist. Spain.

inhabitants: but this business was discovered before the execution; the accomplices were taken, and delivered by Mago unto Adherbal, to be led to Carthage in Africa: the conspirators were put into a galleas, which was heavier and slower than the gallies; he sent it a little before, and followed himself with eight gallies: this galleas had entered into the Strait, when Lælius discovered it from the port of Carteia, and put forth also with a Roman galleas, and was carried by the current within that Strait: Adherbal, the Carthaginian, seeing himself surpris'd, was doubtful whether he should fly after his galleas, or oppose his enemy: whilst he stood thus in suspense, Lælius came upon him, and it was not in his power to avoid the combat: they were in a rapid strait, where nothing could be done after the manner of sea-fights, either by the judgment of captains or mariners; for the sea running high in that place, (near Tarifa) they could not manage to turn their gallies as they pleas'd, but were carried by eddy waves and currents, as well against their own as the enemy's vessels, notwithstanding their endeavours to the contrary; so that oftentimes they might have seen a galley flying, turn suddenly against that which pursued her, by the whirling of the wave, and that which chased her, to fly away: the gallies being in this strife, it happened, that the Roman galleas, or quinquireme, by her weight and number of oars, mastering the whirlpools better than the others, forced two Carthaginian gallies: stemming the one, and disarming the other of all her oars off one side, as she swiftly pass'd by her; and would in like manner have damaged the rest, if she had encountered them: but Adherbal, with the help of his sails and oars, recovered the coast of Africa that was nearest: Lælius being victor, returned into the port of Carteia in Gibraltar bay, from whence he soon sail'd for Carthage in Spain, Scipio's head quarters. In the five hundred and eighty-second year of Rome, which was one hundred and seventy-two years before Christ, one thousand nine hundred and thirty-seven years ago, I find an embassy was sent to Rome,

to

to know what should be done with the bastards, called *Hybridæ*, that were the sons of Roman soldiers, and Spanish mothers, desiring lands might be assigned to them: it was agreed by the senate, that lands should be given to those, whom *Canuleius*, the prætor, thought fit to deliver out of slavery, for they were sold as slaves, and that he should carry them to *Carteia*, and that it should be deemed a Roman colony, which was the first in Spain, and called *Colonia Libertinorum*.

In the seven hundred and ninth year of Rome, forty-five years before Christ, one thousand eight hundred and ten years ago, when Cæsar gained the memorable battle over Pompey's two sons at Munda, on the seventeenth of March: *Cneius Pompeius* retreated to the port of *Carteia*, where his gallies were, as the town was in the Pompeian interest. From this time, Spain remained in the Gothic government, to the third year of king *Roderic*, when the country was over-run and conquered by the Moors from Barbary, in the seven hundred and thirteenth year of our redemption, one thousand and fifty-two years ago: and this was the period when *Algezira* and *Gibraltar* were built with the materials from *Carteia*; for neither of these towns were in being, before the Saracens made their descent: thus have I traced the ancient city of *Carteia* to two thousand five hundred and thirty-four years back to the death of Abraham, which was originally called *Carteia*, *Heraclea*, *Calpe*, *Carteia*, or *Calpen Carteiam*; being the only town in that bay till the year seven hundred and thirteen, or seven hundred and eleven, as *Vertot* has it (4), when two others rose out of her ruins: I shall therefore pursue the histories of these towns of *Algezira* and *Gibraltar*, particularly the last.

(4) *Vertot's Revol. Spain.*

C H A P. II.

OF THE ROMANS AND GOTHs IN SPAIN AND BARBARY; ALSO
OF THE NAME GIBRALTAR, AND COMING OF THE MOORS
INTO SPAIN.

THE Romans, after they had obliged the Carthaginians to quit Spain entirely by that famous treaty, which put an end to the second Punic war, continued absolute masters of that great country, and peaceably enjoyed it for about six hundred and nineteen years (1); in all which time, there were no disturbances or divisions worth notice, except some few intestine commotions raised by the several factions in the empire: but the emperours so far degenerated from the valour and magnanimity of their ancestors, that the Goths taking the advantage of the effeminacy of such unworthy successors to those who had been the conquerours of so many nations, they, under the conduct of king Alaric, went and attacked them in the very city of Rome, whilst the Vandals, Alans, Sueves, and Silinges, loaded with the spoils of the Gauls and the Germans, over-run Spain like an impetuous torrent, putting to fire and sword all that they found in their way.

The city of Astorga first felt the cruel effects of their inhumanity; they next broke into Old Castile, penetrated into the new, utterly ruined the neighbourhood of Toledo, ravaged the whole province of Estremadura, with all the country bordering upon the river Tagus, laid the inhabitants of Lisbon under contribution, carrying fire and sword into the lower Andalusia, the northern parts of Portugal, and into Galicia, leaving every where such bloody marks both of their barbarity and impiety, that the greatest part of the towns and cities were either utterly destroyed or depopulated;

(1) Idem, Book 1. p. 3.

the churches were all pillaged, and the distressed clergy driven to such extremities, that they were forced to have recourse to caves, and the tops of mountains, for the preservation of their lives; and what was still more deplorable, was, that they who found means to escape the destructive swords of those Barbarians, were either famished, or died with the pestilence, which was caused by the vast numbers of dead carcases, with which all the plains were covered: in a word, the desolation was so great, that the Barbarians themselves, though too late, became sensible how much they had been in the wrong, to ruin a country which they designed to make the place of their own residence; so that, after having moderated their hostilities, they divided the provinces among them, and each nation applied itself to the cultivation of that part which had fallen to their shares in the dividend: the Sueves, and some of the Vandals, settled themselves in Galicia, which was then of a much larger extent than it is at present: the remaining part of the Vandals, with the Silinges, took possession of Bætica, to which province they gave the name of Vandalusia, and which has, by corruption, been since changed into Andalusia.

I do not find in any history, at what time Carteia was demolished, and indeed the confusion occasioned by Goths and Moors, puts it out of my power justly to say: for example; in the four hundred and twenty-fifth year of Christ, Gonderic, after pillaging and burning all Carthage, broke into Andalusia, in which is Carteia, destroying all the places he found in his way, and, at last, went and laid close siege to Seville, which having reduced, he cruelly put all the inhabitants to the sword.

I find, after this, the Vandal king Genseric, was with his fleet and transports, with an army, ready to pass the Straits at Gibraltar; that is, his ships rode in Gibraltar bay, and probably he embarked his troops at Rocadillo, as it would have been absurd to have marched over the sandy isthmus to the rock, where there was no town, and a distance of full four miles; here the river Guadarranque

ranque presented itself with an extensive key of masonry on its banks, at the foot of the lower town of Carteia, as its ruins still shew. Genferic was obliged to debark, but being victorious over the Sueves, returned to his fleet, and sailed over into Africa, to the assistance of Boniface, against the Romans, over whom he gained surprising victories: so that Placidia, the empress, finding the united strength of the Roman empire too weak to put a stop to their rapid progress, sent to offer them peace, and agreed, "That they should remain in possession of all the conquests, upon condition they held them of the empire, and paid a certain annual acknowledgment." To this they willingly consented, and were the more ready to accept these proposals, as being sufficiently weary of a war, the consequences whereof, however glorious and advantageous they had been to them, had yet weakened their army to such a degree, that they were scarce in a condition to keep the field any longer.

In the year four hundred and thirty-eight, king Rechilus marched into the province of Andalusia, pillaging, burning, and destroying all he found in his way, carrying terror with him wherever he went: he gave the Romans an entire defeat, enriched himself with the spoil, and remained absolute master of the country.

After this, Justinian sent a powerful army into Spain, under the conduct of the patrician Liberius, who, immediately upon his arrival, began his operations by taking possession of all the maritime towns which are situated on the Mediterranean coast, from the Straits of Gibraltar as high as the kingdom of Valencia, every one of which, joyfully submitted to this new government, to deliver themselves from the yoke of Agila the Goth, whom they abominated both for his vices and heresy, and who was defeated by Liberius, and afterwards assassinated by his subjects.

In the year six hundred and fourteen, king Sigebert turned his arms against the imperialists, to try if he could recover out of their hands

hands, all that tract of land which reaches from the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the kingdom of Valencia, &c. and in six hundred and twenty-four, all pretensions to the coast of the Mediterranean sea were relinquished by the imperialists to the Goths.

In six hundred and twenty-four, Heraclius having received intelligence of all the losses which the empire had sustained in Spain, sent another patrician, as general, with an absolute commission to act as he thought convenient: upon his arrival, he found king Suintila ready in the field, and perceiving that his forces were far from being strong enough to make head against that prince's army, he used his utmost endeavours to avoid meeting him: the Gothic king, understanding how much he was perplexed, sent him a message, importing, "That, considering the inequality of the two armies, it would be looked upon as an undertaking unpardonable to hazard a battle which must inevitably prove fatal to him; and that it must of necessity be thought an act of prudence to prevent the entire ruin and destruction of the troops which the emperor had committed to his conduct; that the most famous commanders had ever held it as an unerring maxim, that necessity has no law; so that the only method which he had to take, was to relinquish, by fair means, all that the emperor was possessed of within the Gothic dominions, and which he held without any better right or title than a grant made by king Leovigild, against all rules of equity, and without the nation's consent:" to this if he agreed, he offered him the most honourable treatment that he could desire; whereas, on the contrary, if, by any unseasonable obstinacy, he obliged him to reduce him by force of arms, he must expect to be treated with all the rigour which the laws of war would justify.

The patrician, equally touched with the wretched, feeble condition of the imperial affairs, and with the uncommon generosity of king Suintila, believed, that he should do the empire a particular piece of service, in saving from ruin the poor, helpless forces

which he had under his care, at the expence only of a few ill provided places, which he was wholly incapable of defending: so that after he had signed the capitulations of a surrender, he embarked and left the king of the Goths, Suintila, absolute monarch of the whole peninsula of Spain, which no one before him had ever entirely possessed.

At this time, the Goths were masters of a great part of Barbary; but in six hundred and seventy-seven, the Saracens being become insolent and formidable by the conquests which they had made of almost all Africa, committed most astonishing ravages in all the western provinces, which obliged king Wamba to fit out a very powerful fleet, and send it to sea; which meeting with the naval forces of those infidels, attacked them with such an undaunted resolution, that they destroyed and took two hundred and sixty of their vessels, great and small, many of which were made prizes of by the Goths, and the rest either burnt or sunk.

I am now come to treat of Gibraltar, a name derived from a Moorish general, and of the strange cause which introduced that barbarous multitude into Spain, who over-ran almost all Spain in three years; in which recital we must not entirely rely on the story of king Roderic's deflowering count Julian's daughter, though undoubtedly that facilitated the descent.

Historians relate this famous revolution various ways, and gentlemen, relying too much on Mr. Howell's story of the beautiful Cava, assign no other cause: which letter (2) is very erroneous from the beginning to the end: Emanuel de Faria y Sousa (3), is as bad; and Mariana (4), though otherwise a great historian, yet carries the air of the marvelous in many places of his history, as well as in this story: however, to begin with Mr. Howell: There reigned in Spain don Rodrigo, who kept his court at Malaga; he employ-

(2) Howell's Letters, Letter xxxii.

(3) Hist. Portugal, Book II. c. vi.

(4) Hist. Spain, Book VII. c. viii. p. 97.

ed the conde don Julian, embassador to Barbary, who had a daughter (a beautiful young lady) that was maid of honour to the queen. The king spying her one day under an arbour, was enamoured with her, and never left her till he had deflowered her: she resenting much the dishonour, wrote a letter to her father in Barbary under this allegory: "That there was a fair green apple upon the table, and the king's poniard fell upon it, and cleaved it in two." Don Julian apprehending the meaning, got letters of revocation, and came back into Spain; where he so complied with the king, that he became his favourite: among other things, he advised the king, that as he was now at peace with all the world, he would dismiss his garrisons and gallies that were up and down the sea coasts, because it was a superfluous charge: this being done, and the country left open for any to invade, he prevailed upon the king to have leave to go with his lady to see his friends in Tarragona, which was three hundred miles off: having been there a while, his lady pretended to be sick, and sent to petition the king, that her daughter donna Cava (whom they had left at court to satiate the king's lust) might come to comfort her a while. Cava came, and the gate, through which she went forth, is called after her name to this day in Malaga: don Julian having all his chief kindred there, sailed over to Barbary, and afterwards brought over the king of Morocco, and others, with an army, who suddenly invaded Spain, lying defenceless and open, and so conquered it. Thus this gentleman: and no doubt the ravishing of Cava was a spur to the faction, who in all probability would have dethroned Roderic, if that had not happened. In short, this story is greatly perplexed by several authors. But to the point: Recefuinthus the Goth (5), and king of Spain, leaving no issue to succeed him, his brothers, either for their age, or some other reasons, were not thought fit to inherit. Hereupon the nobles

(5) Idem.

met, and chose Wamba, a man of quality, who had been chief favourite of the king's. However, his reign was but short, being poisoned by Ervigius (of the family of Recesuinthus) but coming at length to himself, took the habit of a monk, in conformity to those times. Ervigius mounted the throne, and was succeeded by Egica, or Egiza, who dying at Toledo, in seven hundred and one, was succeeded by his son Witiza, whose reign was disorderly and infamous in all respects, but particularly noted for cruelty, impiety, and contempt of the church. True it is, at first he gave hopes he would prove a good prince, for he recalled those that were banished by his father, and caused all the records to be burnt, that there might remain no memory of the crimes that had been falsely charged upon them. These were good beginnings had they been well followed; but it is hard to curb extravagant youth, and great power. His first false step was giving ear to flatterers, at whose instigation he fell into all manner of lewdness: he kept a great many concubines, with the same state as if they had been queens, and the better to cover his impiety, committed a greater by giving leave to all men to do the like, and particularly by giving (says Mariana) ecclesiastical men leave to marry. Another law also was established, disowning the pope. From this time, all things began to fall into confusion, for though many were pleased with libertinism, yet some were zealous for the ancient laws and customs, and began to think of restoring the family of king Chindasuinthus, as the only remedy against so many evils, of which he was not ignorant, and from it took occasion to prosecute what he had begun in his father's days, which was to embue his hands in the blood of that family.

There were living two sons of Chindasuinthus, brothers to king Recesuinthus, the one called Theodofredus, the other Favila: Theodofredus was duke of Cordova, and was resolved not to go to court, as being jealous of the king. Favila was duke of Cantabria, or Biscay, and whilst Witiza, in his father's time, resided in Galicia,

cia, had bore him company, with the charge of captain of his guard. Witiza flew him with a stroke of a club, as some think, on account of his wife. These were his first works of hatred and cruelty, before he came to the crown. Favila left a son called Pelayus, who was lieutenant to his father Egica, but upon his death, retired to his estate in Cantabria: and count Julian, married to Witiza's sister, had the charge of protospatarius, or captain of his guards. Witiza being come to the crown, turned his rage against Pelagius, or Pelayus, and his uncle Theodofredus; the latter of whom he caused his eyes to be put out; Pelayus indeed escaped out of his reach, as also did Roderic, son to Theodofredus, who was afterwards king. These cruelties, and his other vices, made Witiza odious to his people; and he despairing of gaining their affections, resolved to keep them under by favour; and to this end caused almost all the walls of all the cities in Spain to be demolished, and destroyed all the arms of the kingdom, pretending it was to secure the peace; he persecuted Gundericus, the bishop of Toledo, and some priests that still preserved their innocence.

Witiza at length died, in the twelfth year of his reign, in seven hundred and eleven, at Toledo; but whether a natural death, or by the contrivance of Roderic, is uncertain: he left two sons, Eba and Sicibutus: some people favouring these two youths, and others their adversaries, there arose great contests and confusion, which ended in a greater destruction than could have been imagined. Since the division of the Goths about these two families, brought on their total destruction, it will not be amiss to declare the descent of them both.

Chindasuinthus, by his wife Riesberga, left Recesuinthus, who succeeded him in the crown, Theodofredus, Favila, and one daughter, whose name is not known. Recesuinthus died without issue, therefore the nobles chose Wamba to succeed him. Chindasuinthus's daughter was married to Ardebastus, who, though
a Greek,

a Greek, for his valour and birth merited the king's daughter, and had by her Ervigius, who was the beginner of all these calamities, usurping the kingdom, and disposing of Wamba by wicked means.

Ervigius, by his wife Liübigotona, had a daughter, called Cixilona, married to king Egica, a kinsman of Wamba: this marriage being designed to cut off all animosities by uniting these two houses. Of this marriage was born Witiza, that was king, Oppas bishop of Seville, and a daughter married to count Julian: Witiza, as was said above, had two sons, Eba and Sicibutus. Theodofredus, the second son of Chindasuinthus, by his wife Ricilona, a noble lady, had Roderic, the plague and ruin of Spain. Favila, the third son of Chindasuinthus, had Pelayus, not at all like his cousin, for by his valour the Christians in Spain began to make head, after they had been cast down and oppressed through the madness of Roderic.

Spain being in this condition, Roderic excluding the sons of Witiza, ascended the throne of the Goths, by choice, as is believed, of the nobles.

The kingdom was full of distractions, by reason of the several interests, people were grown effeminate, giving themselves up to feasting, drinking, and lewdness; the military discipline was quite lost, and the kingdom of the Goths was now running to destruction: the new king had good natural parts, and seemed to be well inclined: he was hardy, resolute, bountiful, and had excellent ways of gaining men. Such he was before his accession to the crown, but no sooner put into possession of it, than he sullied all these virtues with no less vices: above all, he was implacable when offended, wholly given up to lust, and had no discretion in his undertakings: and, in short, was more like to Witiza, than his father. This Roderic called home his cousin Pelayus, and made him captain of the guards, the greatest trust at court. Witiza's sons he treated so ill, that for fear of worse consequences, they fled
into

into that part of Barbary that was subject to the Goths, called Mauritania Tingitana. At that time, count Requila governed that province, as lieutenant, I believe, says Mariana, to count Julian, a man in such power, that, besides it, he had the government of that part of Spain, about the Straits of Gibraltar, and perhaps Carteia and Tarifa were his: but besides all this, he had a great estate of his own, Consuegra, inferiour to none in the kingdom. Hence sprung all the mischiefs that ensued: for Witiza's sons, before they went over into Africa, had sown the seeds of rebellion, and were assisted by Oppas the bishop, who was very powerful. These beginnings, which ought to have been suppressed, were heightened by the accident of count Julian's daughter. I shall now pursue this strange revolution from an author (6), who has pretty well sifted the chaff from the grain, and who, in general, has wrote well of Spain.

An inordinate passion of love, or rather lust and sensuality, the very same vice which put an end to the regal power in Rome, and which has been the source of so many disorders in all parts of the world, exterminated the Gothic empire in Spain, notwithstanding its foundation was so powerfully supported by arms, and the rigour of their laws, that it seemed equally impracticable either to shake or overthrow it. Rodrigo, or Roderic, after having dethroned king Witiza, appeased the commotions which the sons of that unfortunate prince had raised in the kingdom, and had reduced them to the melancholy necessity of passing the sea to seek for refuge in Africa, under the protection of count Requila, governor of Mauritania Tingitana, who had been formerly their father's intimate friend, enjoyed the peaceable sovereignty over all Spain, his subjects flattering themselves that they should find an undisturbed repose under his reign, to make them some amends for what they had suffered under his predecessor.

(6) Hist. Revol. in Spain, approved by the abbot Vertot, B. II. Rev. 34.

He was a prince endowed with every qualification requisite in a sovereign. Mariana, Gariba, and Morales, the three most celebrated historians which Spain has produced, say, after many others, that he was perfectly well made as to his person; that he had a noble greatness of soul, and generosity of temper, an extensive and penetrating wit, capable of undertaking and executing the most difficult enterprizes; that he was good-natured, affable, disinterested, magnificent, liberal, a great lover of men of merit, and always ready to reward and encourage them; that he was exceeding valiant, and that whenever he took in hand any military expedition, he patiently endured hunger, thirst, cold, heat, and all other fatigues of war, without the least murmuring; insomuch, that notwithstanding he had usurped the crown, his subjects willingly obeyed him without constraint, flattering themselves, that he, and only he, was capable of restoring to its pristine splendour a throne, which Witiza had dishonoured by an infamous and dissolute life.

No sooner had he taken the reins of monarchy into his hands, but he gave shining marks of an uncommon care, by his indefatigable application to reform and regulate the many abuses which Witiza had suffered to creep into the government; as likewise by the many stately edifices he erected, whose beauty and magnificence neither the devouring jaws of time itself, nor other casualties, have been able to efface to this day.

Who could not have imagined, but that so promising a beginning would have produced a happy conclusion? but all these fine glaring presages were nothing else but like those meteors which frequently are seen in the air, whose brightness indeed dazzle our eyes, but draws after them a train of malignant influences which bring ruin, and desolation upon whole nations: these flashes of seeming virtues were soon transformed into real vices, which obliged his deluded subjects with floods of tears to extinguish the fires of joy they had kindled at his coronation.

As

As no one had ever a larger share of warmth, nor more apt to resent what he thought an injury or affront, than himself, upon the least suspicion in the world, he sacrificed to his vengeance the noblest and most illustrious blood in his realm; and there are still to be seen pieces of money coined by him, whereon is represented an armed man, with a very fierce and severe aspect, looking as if he was just pronouncing the sentence of death, or, at least, of banishment, upon an offending subject.

His court was the very centre of effeminacy, sensuality, and debauchery: the only way of aspiring to his favour, was to excel in wickedness, and to be signalized for having committed some notorious enormity, nor did rewards and encouragement seem to be made for any others, but those who rather merited correction and a gibbet.

The spirit of drunkenness and debauchery reigned throughout every place, where he was pleased to be present.

The corruption of his heart, and the depravity of his manners, were so excessive, and reached to so high a pitch, that, as Mariana has observed, he bore beyond comparison a much nearer resemblance to Witiza, than he did to the worthy person, to whom he owed his birth.

Feasting and riotous revellings took up the greatest part of those hours, which he ought to have employed in regulating the affairs of his kingdom; and instead of inducing his subjects to the practice of virtue by a regular conduct, worthy the exalted rank which he held among them,, he drew them into all manner of vices, by the pernicious example he set them. Amidst all that crowd of passions, which alternately enslaved this misguided prince, he was possessed of so violent an inclination to the female sex, that one would have thought, that his whole kingdom was too small to furnish a sufficient number of women to satiate his more than brutal lust; insomuch, that, like another Nero, being become wholly degenerate from the human species, he had not rational faculties

enough left him to comprehend, that he was hastening towards his own destruction upon a full gallop, and that he was upon the very point of seeing one of the noblest and most flourishing nations in the universe most ingloriously groaning under the ignominious yoke of the faithless Moors; which Barbarians, taking their advantage of the miserable disorders, and the contemptible effeminacy into which his debauched life and example had plunged the generality of the people, snatched the crown from his thoughtless head, and established their empire over all Spain, with so little difficulty, that this mighty revolution has been, and ever will be, the wonder and astonishment of all, who knew the true cause of so memorable an event! the particular circumstances of which are as follow:

It was an ancient custom in Spain for the grandees of the realm to send their children to be educated at court: the sons were kept about the king's person, as his body-guard, waited on him in his apartments, and at table, accompanied him in all his hunting matches, and followed him to the field when he went to war, where they improved themselves in military discipline.

The young ladies applied themselves to the queen's service, under whose care and protection they were taught all sorts of curious works, singing, dancing, music, and every thing else that was conformable to their birth and degree. When they were come to a certain age, their majesties procured suitable matches for those, who were desirous of a married state, and put the rest in a method of pursuing that sort of life which was most agreeable to their inclinations.

Among the young ladies, who made up the retinue of Egilona, king Roderic's spouse, there was one, who distinguished herself from among all the rest, as well by her illustrious birth, as by the charms of her most ravishing beauty, being indeed a perfect master-piece of nature!

She was the only daughter of one of the greatest lords in all Spain, whose name was Julian, count of Consuegra, and governour
of

of the coasts of Andalusia, and her mother was a princess of the blood royal.

The most credible historians call her Cava, though some writers affirm her name to be Florinda: nothing could possibly exceed the charms of her exquisite beauty, but those of her great merit and virtue.

Her conduct served as a model and rule for all the court ladies to follow: as she was one day diverting herself with some of her companions, at their usual recreation in the palace garden, the clasp of her garment chanced to get loose, and discovered all the blooming beauties of her delicate neck and bosom: the king, who was looking at her out of a window, no sooner beheld that enchanting sight, but he fell desperately in love with her: he sighed a long time in secret, without having the assurance to divulge the violence of the passion which consumed him. However, he was fully resolved to indulge his appetite, at any price soever; but that was a matter not easy to be accomplished. He must have a favourable opportunity, which very seldom happened. On one side, the lovely Cava constantly passed the greatest part of the day in the queen's company, and the rest of her time was taken up, on the other, in recreating herself with the count her father. This constraint was very disagreeable, and contrary to the impetuous humour of king Roderic, who was extremely violent in all his passions, and had an insuperable aversion to long fruitless sighing.

In order to remove the principal obstacle which opposed his ardent desires, he determined to get rid of count Julian, by an artful stratagem, under the pretext of sending him on an embassy to Moufa ben Nassir, who was viceroy of Africa, for Walid the first, caliph of the Saracens.

He was scarce departed from court, but the libidinous, sensual monarch, no longer able to conceal the sufferings of his heart, acquainted the amiable Cava with the violence of his love; neither did he forget or omit any one particular, he imagined might be

capable of making an impression on her heart. Sighs, tears, offers, and promises, were profusely expended to make that beautiful creature sensible of a passion, which she could not think on without horror and trembling. Her virtue prevailing over the respect she owed her sovereign, she loaded him with injuries and reproaches, giving him the most infamous and opprobrious language imaginable, which incensed him so far, that, passing from caresses to the most outrageous brutality, he violated the chastity of that lovely virgin, whose resentment was so great, that after having seriously reflected upon the method she was to take, that she might be completely revenged for the injurious insult she had received from that ravisher, she determined to write to her father the following letter:

“ Would it had pleased the Almighty, my dearest father! that
“ the ground had opened and swallowed me up, rather than I had
“ ever lived to see myself reduced to this wretched necessity of
“ writing, to give you the knowledge of a disgrace, which will
“ cause in your breast an eternal disquiet! the innumerable tears,
“ which have all blotted and almost effaced this whole letter, will let
“ you understand the violence I do myself in writing to you such
“ unwelcome news: but I apprehend, that, if I should defer it
“ one single moment, I might leave room to doubt, whether at the
“ same time when my body was defiled, my soul was not likewise
“ stained with an indelible blemish. Who can ever put an end to
“ our misfortunes, except you repair the insult which has been done
“ to us? shall we stay till time makes public what is, at present,
“ a secret, when we shall be covered with an opprobrious name
“ more insupportable than death itself? O wretched, and most
“ deplorable destiny! in a word, my dear father! your daughter!
“ your blood! this branch of the royal stock, who, like an innocent
“ lamb, was recommended to the care of a ravenous wolf,
“ has been violated by king Roderic! if you forget not what you
“ owe to your illustrious blood, you will revenge the affront offered
“ it, by destroying the tyrant, who has so basely stained it.
“ Remember

“Remember that you are count Julian, and that I am Cava, your
“only daughter!”

The reading this letter, was like a mortal stab in count Julian's heart, and caused him not only to resolve upon the ruin of that impious ravisher of his daughter's honour, but likewise to sacrifice his country to his vengeance. The better to bring about his designs, he, as soon as possible, dispatched the business upon which he had been sent over into Africa, and with all diligence repaired to court; where, by the satisfactory accounts he gave of his negotiation, by the vast projects he insinuated to have laid, tending very much to the nation's glory and advantage, and by the violent love the king bore his daughter, he became so exceeding powerful, that all the most important affairs of state passed through his hands, insomuch that the other favourites began to conceive a great umbrage and jealousy at his exorbitant growth.

As he was a person of consummate parts and judgment, and had a wonderful talent in dissembling and concealing his sentiments, very far from making the least shew of his deep resentment, and the mortal hatred he bore the king, he, on the contrary, expressed himself extremely sensible, and full of acknowledgment for all the favours that monarch had heaped upon him; and by this profound dissimulation, his credit increased more and more, as the thirst of revenge grew every day more violent in his resenting heart, all which facilitated his putting in execution the project he had designed from the very moment he heard of his daughter's disgrace.

The king, notwithstanding he was miserably plunged in all the excesses of a voluptuous, licentious life, yet the ambitious emulation of worldly glory was not wholly extinct in his breast; and to set him upon attempting the greatest enterprises, there wanted nothing but the insinuations of an artful, politic minister, to awaken and rouse him out of that lethargic negligence and supineness, in
which

which his irregular, sensual course of life had involved him, and, as it were, buried him alive.

Count Julian, who had made it his business sedulously to dive into the very bottom of his soul, and was thoroughly acquainted with all his good and bad qualities, knew perfectly well, that ambition had a powerful ascendancy over his heart, and by artful insinuations represented to him, that a prince so potent and great, as was his majesty, should endeavour to crown his pleasures with laurels; telling him, that he might easily make very noble progresses against the Moors, whilst they had not the least diffidence or suspicion that he intended any thing to their prejudice, and especially now their forces were otherwise employed, and dispersed in several parts of Africa. The better to decoy him into the snare, which malice had spread for him, he communicated to the listening monarch the particulars of an imaginary project of his, the execution whereof, this traitor represented to be as easy, as the plan was pompous and magnificent.

The too credulous Roderic, seduced by this flattering discourse, and feeling the sparks of that generous valour, which had heretofore gained him such mighty reputation, beginning to rekindle in his soul, he swallowed the specious bait, and agreed with that treacherous counsellor upon the necessary measures for carrying a war into the very entrails of Africa, of the conquest of all which, he thought himself sure; so great a confidence had he in the artifices and insinuations of the revengeful Julian.

In the mean while, the count, who breathed nothing but vengeance, nor sighed for any thing but the total perdition of him, who had ruined his daughter's honour, held a secret correspondence in Africa with king Witiza's sons, who, as well as himself, were burning with an impatient desire of revenging themselves upon the tyrant who had usurped a throne, which, of right, belonged to them.

In

In Spain, he caballed with a great number of traitors and malecontents, whom he found inclined to join with him in his detestable conspiracy; insomuch, that seeing every thing ready disposed to favour his wicked designs, he now employed his thoughts upon nothing, but how to snatch his daughter from the arms of the ravisher, that she might not be involved in the approaching confusion, nor bear a part in the general calamity he had meditated.

To this effect, he informed the king, that his wife, whom he had left at Malaga, was upon her death-bed, and that she had a passionate longing to see her daughter before she expired. What reluctance soever the amorous monarch had to see the object of his most tender wishes removed from his sight, he had still the complaisance to the earnest representation and request of Julian; so that the fair Cava, having agreed with her father upon what measures were to be taken, to prevent her falling again into Roderic's power, departed for Malaga, where she did not continue long.

The king, who supinely reposed himself, upon the false count's seeming zeal and sincerity, was waiting with the utmost impatience for his mistress's return, and was not a little surprised, when, soon after, that treacherous favourite disappeared. This mysterious departure was a terrible thunder-clap to him, and a certain presage, that something was in agitation, which would prove fatal to the state.

Thus troubled, confused, and uncertain which way the fugitive had taken, he sent messengers upon the search after him, in every place; but all their diligence was to no effect: for the wary count had used such caution, as well as expedition, that it was sooner known that he, his wife, and the beautiful Cava, were embarked, and steered towards the coast of Africa, than it could be discovered which way he managed his artful escape to the sea-side of Spain.

At the news of this flight, king Roderic was more enraged than ever; he was utterly confounded and ashamed to have the double mortification of finding himself at once deprived of the lovely daughter,

daughter, and tricked by the crafty father. His resentment and disquiet was so extremely violent, that nothing could possibly moderate his concern, except the storm which the very fugitive himself was preparing for him, the conspiracy; which tended to nothing less than his own dethronement, and the utter destruction of the Spanish monarchy.

The revengeful count was no sooner landed on the African shore, than he hastened away to Moufa, with whom he had commenced an intimate friendship, during the time of his late embassy, and who gave him a very gracious and friendly reception. He informed him of the injurious outrage which the execrable Roderic had done to his daughter's honour; and gave him to understand, how greatly he thirsted to take vengeance upon the tyrant: telling him, that if he would but assist him, in destroying the person who had dishonoured his family, he would solemnly engage himself to introduce an army of Moors into the very heart of Spain, and to bring the whole kingdom under the caliph's obedience.

Moufa being very attentive to the proposals, heard him with the greatest pleasure, and would most joyfully have embraced them without hesitation, had he but imagined he might have presumed to act by his own authority; but not daring to undertake any thing in an affair of such consequence as this, without express orders from the caliph, he desired time to write to his sovereign. Julian, impatient to know what he was to depend upon, took upon himself to carry the message, and with the utmost diligence departed for Damascus, and soon arrived at the caliph's court. Being naturally exceeding eloquent, he enlivened and embellished his discourse with the most expressive colours, to exaggerate the greatness of his project, and to make it shine in the eyes of Walid, to bring him to a determination favourable to his wishes: he represented to him, "That he had in Spain a very powerful party devoted to his interest, and extremely discontented with Roderic's irregular administration;" of whom he gave the most infamous epithets

epithets he could invent, and painted him as the basest, and most detestable prince that ever breathed on the earth: adding, that the two sons of king Witiza, whose throne this tyrant had usurped, would infallibly join with him, which would be a considerable addition to his interest; that the Goths having been for a long time buried in a degenerate libertinism, luxury, and licentiousness, were become faint-hearted, effeminate cowards, and wholly incapable of enduring the fatigues of the field: that the country was wholly defenceless; the cities, towns, and castles all dismantled, and had neither fortifications, arms, provisions, nor garrisons: that Roderic, on account of his violences, injustice, cruelties, and disorders, was held in horror and detestation by all the nobility: that the people languished for a revolution: upon the first motion of which, they might give open proofs of the implacable hatred they had justly conceived against the inhuman tyrant, by whom they were so sorely oppressed. In a word, mingling tears with his artful and lively painting of the wretched conditions of his suffering country, which he had been representing: he sighed for succours of the Musselmans, to oppose this second Tarquin: extolling the immense and inexhaustible riches of Spain to the skies, which whole kingdom he engaged his head to reduce to the caliph's obedience; and for the greater security, offered to deliver up into his possession all the places the Spaniards held and were masters of in Africa.

Walid, who was incessantly aspiring after great enterprizes, and who had already rendered his name famous by the innumerable victories and conquests he had obtained, found something most agreeably soothing in count Julian's proposals, and persuaded himself, that this undertaking might meet with a success sufficient to satisfy his ambition, and to enhance the glory of his name: with these flattering hopes, after he had loaded the wicked count with caresses and civilities, he sent him back to Mousa, with an order to that governour, that he should furnish him with a small body

of troops, to make trial of his fidelity, but that if afterwards he found him sincere, and thought he could do it securely, he should assist him with the united forces of all Africa.

Upon this leave given him by the caliph, Moufa supplied him with between five and six hundred soldiers, and no more, commanded by Tarif Abdalahi, with all provisions, and what else was necessary to make a descent upon the coast of Andalusia. Count Julian, Munuza, and Alchaman, were appointed to serve as lieutenants under Tarif. As they had not far to sail, the Moors soon crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and Tarif landed them at the foot of the mountain Calpe, and, without difficulty, of the town so called, which he fortified with all speed. It is thought the sons of Witiza were very instrumental towards the taking that place, by means of a secret intelligence they held with the inhabitants; however it happened, as soon as Tarif had got possession of it, he changed its name, and called it Ghezeira al Thadra, which Arabic words imply the Green Island, because that at a distance, it seems to be of that colour to those who behold it from the sea; since that time, the Spaniards have corrupted the name, and called it Algezira. Here is, to be sure, a most monstrous and absurd mistake! because Gibraltar is not, nor ever was Algezira, nor Algezira, Gibraltar; places ever separate from each other, and divided by the bay of the latter: but more of this hereafter.

C H A P. III.

CONTINUATION OF THE CAUSES THAT BROUGHT THE MOORS INTO SPAIN, AND THE NAME ALGEZIRA.

DON Roderic and others confound Taric with Tarif (1); in fixing the epocha of the battle of Guadalete at the year seven hundred and fourteen; when he brings thither one hundred

(1) Vertot's Hist. Spain, pref. p. 38.

and

and eighty thousand Moors; and when he makes Toledo to be taken by the general Moufa, which are actually false: since it is demonstrated by all the grave historians, that Taric was no other than the son of a freed man, who by his long services had attained to military preferments distinguishable to merit the command of about four or five hundred men, and at their head to be sent into Spain with the count don Julian, in order to make the first attempts upon the Andalusian coasts; whereas, Tarif was a person of high birth, invested with the charge of lieutenant general of Mauritania Tingitana under the general Moufa, and who had orders to come to a general engagement with the king don Roderic in the year seven hundred and eleven, and not in seven hundred and fourteen, or seven hundred and thirteen, as historians pretend, who instead of one hundred and eighty thousand men had positively no more than twelve thousand; and that it certainly was himself who took the city of Toledo, and not the general Moufa.

But let us see what other authors say for they almost all differ in their narrative, both as to chronology, names, and circumstances.

Egica, the thirty-first king, died in the year seven hundred and one (2): his issue was Witiza, who reigned immediately after him. Oppas, archbishop of Seville, whose name is infamous in story, being one of those villains who betrayed Spain to the Moors: and Fandina, who married the perfidious earl Julian, who brought the Moors into Spain, father of Florinda, whom some call Cava, the occasion of that misfortune, though innocently. To him succeeded Witiza, the thirty-second king, son of Egica, by his wife Cixilona, daughter of Ervigius, grandson of Chindasuinthus by the mother's side. His whole reign was nothing but a continual series of impieties, cruelties, and disorders: he openly entertained many concubines, as if they had been queens, and allowed concubinage

(2) Richer's abridged Hist. Spain, p. 7.

to his subjects: he ordered Favila, son of Chindasuinthus, to be murdered; plucked out the eyes of Theodofredus, brother of Favila, and having by these enormities made himself odious to exaggerate his crimes, he caused the walls of the greatest part of the cities in Spain to be dismantled, to take thereby, as he said, all means of rebellion from his subjects; he likewise destroyed all arms offensive and defensive he could find. Authors do not agree on the manner of his death, some say it was natural, others will have it violent; be that as it will, he reigned ten years: he left two sons, Evan and Sisebut, who, to avoid falling into the hands of Roderic, fled into Africa, engaged there among the Moors, and came into Spain with them, but their new friends put them to death.

Roderic, the thirty-third and last king of the Goths, son of Theodofredus, duke of Corduba, and grandson of Chindasuinthus, succeeded Witiza, and walked in his steps; for he plunged himself wholly in all sorts of vice, which caused the ruin of Spain; yet before he came to the crown, he was thought a virtuous and wise prince, and no sooner had he obtained it, but he fell into all manner of debaucheries.

Count Julian, before-mentioned, was his favourite, and he gave him the government of all the countries situate in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and all the territories the Goths had in Africa. This extravagant power with which his prince had invested him, gave him the opportunity of betraying his country, which was effected in the following manner:

His daughter Florinda, or Cava, being at court, the king became desperately in love with her, and not obtaining his desires by fair means, violated her chastity, which put the father into so violent a rage, that waving the respect he ought to have had for the Christian religion, he invited the Moors to pass into Spain, to be by that means revenged of the king, by the destruction of his country, promising the infidels all the assistance he could.

Moufa, who commanded in Africa under the caliph Ulit, sent Tarif Abenzarca with twelve thousand men, who made himself master of mount Calpe, and of the city Heraclea, or Tarifa, supposed to be the same; and gave it his own name, defeating afterwards an army, which king Roderic sent against him, ravaged the whole country, and took the city of Seville.

Another author (3) relates, that Cava, when playing with her equals, chanced to uncover her body farther than usual; the king then looking out of a window, fell desperately in love with her, and at length enjoyed her by force: the maid, boiling with the rage of hatred and revenge, wrote to her father, in modest expressions, telling him what had happened, and, in as pathetic a manner as she could, exciting him to revenge: that count Julian with great difficulty obtained leave of king Roderic for his daughter Cava to cross the sea; and that they took shipping at Malaga (now Malaga) where there is an haven bearing the name of Cava, which tradition reports to have been so called from this lady.

That the Moors at first with an hundred horse and four hundred foot wasted and plundered the borders of the continent and the islands with great success: that Tarif, or Tarac, the son of Atodalla, surnamed Abenzarca, who had but one eye, went from Barbary to Spain with twelve thousand men, in merchant vessels, the better to prevent discovery, and first seized on the hill Calpe, and hence the city Heraclea standing upon it, receiving its new name from Tarif and Gebal, and a neighbouring town that of Tarifa, whereas it was in ancient times called Tartessus; and in the margin he says: *Quam alii Carteiam Mellariam prius dictam contendunt* (4).

Turquet writes thus (5): "The time was now come when the kingdom of the Goths in Spain must have an end, being come

(3) Howell's Hist. of the World, p. 498, &c. (4) Vaseus, ubi sup. (5) Lewis de Mayerne. Turquet. Gen. Hist. Spain, B. xvi. p. 579.

“ to the height of their iniquities: for in their commonweal, all
 “ things, both holy and profane, were managed with fraud and
 “ violence, and their princes affected confusion, to satisfy their
 “ ambition and infamous lusts: wherefore it pleased God to con-
 “ found them in their imaginations, to blind them that would be
 “ blind, to root out the incorrigible, and to take his graces from
 “ them that did obstinately contemn him.”

Roderic, having been an instrument to punish a tyrant, made no use of this correction, nor acknowledged the favour from whence it came, but, presently after his coming to the crown, followed Witiza's steps, yea exceeded him in all his vices. He shewed himself cruel and inhuman to Sisebut and Ebba, the children of Witiza, whom he pursued with all manner of indignities, and forced them to fly into Africa, deprived of all their goods, where they were entertained by Recila, earl and governour of Tangier, or Tingis: he addressed himself to the daughter of Julian, earl or governour of Ceuta, called Caba or Cava, (who was bred up at court, as other virgins were, of noble families, according to custom) and ravished her, whilst her father was embassadour to Africa, on the affairs of the kingdom. The place where he committed this rape, is called Pancorus, betwixt Victoria and Burgos. This was the occasion of the Moors invading Spain.

Some authors write, says this gentleman, that Caba or Cava was wife, and not daughter, to count Julian: that the earl did wickedly revenge this private injury by the ruin of the whole kingdom: for, returning into Africa, where he had led Cava, causing her to embark at Malaga, of whom the port of the same town is yet named, he went to Moufa Abenzair, governour for the emperor of the Arabians, whose name was Vilit, and promised to make him lord of all Spain, if he would give him men and means to make war there.

Moufa, having given previous notice to Vilit, to advise him not to give too much credit to the earl before he had tried him: wherefore

fore at that time they gave him only one hundred horse and four hundred foot, with promises of greater forces.

This man, enraged with the dishonour done to his family, led these Moors into Spain, and having joined with some of the country whom he had corrupted, he spoiled all the coast along the ocean, which is Andalusia and Portugal, and then led them back into Africa, laden with spoils as a testimony of his actions.

This first descent of the Moors was in the year seven hundred and thirteen; the Arabians having made this trial of count Julian's affections, the governour Moufa gave him twelve thousand Moors under the conduct of Tarif Abenzarca, who (according to some) had been in the first passage of the Moors into Spain. Passing the Straits, he landed his men at the foot of mount Calpe: by reason whereof, this place changed its name, and was in the Arabian tongue called Gebel Tarif, that is to say, the mount of Tarif: and the next town taken by that captain, which was either the ancient Carteia, or Mellaria, was called Tarif.

This army being secretly favoured by Sisebut and Ebba, the sons of Witiza, aided and fortified by Recila, governour of Tangier, and other noblemen, Goths, to whom the present state of affairs was displeasing, and who were well known to be friends and well affected, and perhaps equally interested with count Julian, overran and spoiled all Andalusia, and part of Lusitania, entering into Seville, and many other places, which had been dismantled by the foolish advice of king Witiza. In these combustions, Roderic, his successor, both in his vices and kingdom, was so unprovided, that his enemies did what they pleased without resistance.

I shall conclude with Mariana, and then endeavour to rectify the whole: this author carries too much of the marvelous in many places, as well as in this story: for what man in his senses can credit only this one circumstance of the Moorish invasion (6): at

(6) Mar. Hist. Spain, Book vi. chap. viii. p. 97.

the time when king Roderic deflowered the beautiful Cava, he is said to have committed another great error, which was, that he caused the breaking open an old castle at Toledo, said to be enchanted, secured with many locks and bolts: it being a received opinion, that whenever it was opened, the ruin of Spain was at hand. This the king imagined was only a report spread abroad, to conceal some treasures hid there, but being within, found none, only a chest, and in it a picture, on which were drawn men of strange faces and habits, with a Latin inscription to this effect: BY THESE PEOPLE SPAIN SHALL SOON BE DESTROYED!

Mariana informs us, that Julian's daughter did not write in an allegorical manner, but in a rage, lamenting her misfortune, and stirring her father up to revenge: that the count having received the news, resolved to hasten the execution of the treason which till then had been hatching.

He accordingly arrived at court, and having brought the king to his beck, he gave him to understand, that his wife being sick in Africa, nothing could be so great a comfort to her as the sight of her daughter. The request was in itself so reasonable, and urged with so great fervency, that the king could not deny it. At Malaga there is a gate called De la Cava, at which there is a tradition, she went out to take shipping for Africa.

At this time, the power of the Saracens was arrived to a great height, from the small and deceitful beginning of Mahomet, their false prophet; for they had not only subdued and conquered a great part of Asia, but had over-run all Africa, from Egypt along the Mediterranean to the ocean, beyond the Fretum Herculeum. Vilit was sole sovereign of all those people, and called himself Miramamolin, a title denoting absolute sovereignty. Moufa, a man of great conduct and courage, governed Africa as his lieutenant.

Count Julian, in his way to Africa, had a conference with the heads of the conspirators, at a mountain near Consuegra, called Calderino, which, in Arabic, signifies a mountain of treason; there it

it was agreed to invite the Moors into Spain. Count Julian accordingly went over into Africa, and repaired to Moufa, complaining of the wrongs king Roderic did his subjects, and shewed how easy it would be to conquer Spain. Moufa did not dislike the project, but doubted the count's sincerity, and therefore resolved to do nothing without the consent of his master. The result was, that a small body should first be sent, to make trial of the force of Spain, and see whether the count's actions were agreeable to his words. Moufa being a cautious man, at first sent but one hundred horse, and four hundred foot, who landed on the islands, and along the coasts about the Straits' mouth: these were joined by the Christians, which encouraged the Moors to send twelve thousand under the command of Tarif Abenzarca, a man of great note, but blind of one eye; and the better to keep their design private, no fleet of war was provided, for they passed over in merchantmen. First they possessed themselves of mount Calpe, and the city Heraclea, afterwards called Gibraltar, from Gebel, in Arabic, signifying a mountain, and Tarif the general, from whom also Tarifa is supposed to take its name.

Many more authors I could produce, but it would be both prolix and irksome, and the reader may easily perceive the disagreements of those already given, which would only continue were I to introduce others. I shall now observe, that the gentleman approved by Vertot, is the best historian, and most to be relied on; and that Tarif first landed at Algezira, from which place he made his excursions into the country, with his one hundred horse, and four hundred foot, sent over by Moufa, in consequence of the order he received from the caliph Walid, at the intercession of count Julian, to revenge the affront king Roderic had done to his illustrious family, by deflowering his beautiful donna Cava, who took shipping at Malaga for Africa; and the gate she went through, is still called after her, and which I saw in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three.

After this, Tarif landed at the foot of mount Calpe, upon the isthmus; and then the hill changed its name from Calpe, to Gebel Tarif, as a compliment to the Moorish general Tarif; he had with him twelve thousand Moors: and, liking the situation of Gibraltar, gave orders to erect a strong castle, which remains to this day, and the inscription proves it to have been built in the empire of the caliph Walid, as I shall shew in the course of this work.

Mariana and others would fain persuade us, that Heraclea stood at the foot of Mons Calpe, when Tarif made his descent. It is extremely odd, he does not make mention of it, till the year of Christ seven hundred and eleven; or to his computation seven hundred and thirteen, corrected by Mr Vertot, and as Mr. Conduit observes, other Spanish historians give good ground to believe there was no town upon that hill, till the Moors invaded Spain: besides, if ever such a city had been there, what are become of the ruins? it is plain, by the nature of the structures, they were originally Moorish, as I shall prove: neither have there ever been found any Phœnician, Carthaginian, Greek, or Roman coins: sarcophagi's, urns, or temples, either great or small, or even so much as a Roman arch! in short, there are no remains to convince us, of a town standing on, or at the foot of Mons Calpe, before Tarif's descent.

The description of the Moors possessing themselves of Calpe, points out to us, that it was a city and fortress of great strength: and as it was the first city they possessed, whose advantageous situation rendered it a safe retreat, one would naturally conclude, that instead of demolishing a place of so much importance, as that garri-son has ever been esteemed, that they would have repaired it, so that at this time, we might discover some things antique: but no such remains are there, the castle, buildings, walls, wells, bagnios, reservoirs, &c. are all Moorish from the foundations to the summit.

The

The Moors kept possession of Gebel Tarif from seven hundred and eleven, to January one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, just seven hundred and eighty-one years, before they were driven entirely out of that country.

I shall now observe, that Tarif marched to the fort of Heraclea, four miles from Calpe, at Rocabillo, the ancient city of Carteia: for Mariana says, that Hercules only built a fort calling it Heraclea, from whence he, with the Argonauts, made excursions, robbing the country, and had several encounters with the natives: therefore this was the Greek Hercules, who lived long after the founder or prince of Carteia: the tower of Cartahena, which I call Heraclea, is a Roman structure, as its ruins shew in the arches, and the coins there found, not only of Rome, but Phœnicia also.

After Tarif had established a post at the foot of Mons Calpe, he marched and took Heraclea, or Carteia, or Calpe Carteia: for Algezira was not at that period built; nor was there any town or fort in the bay of Gibraltar, but Heraclea and Carteia, or the ruins of Carteia; for it is hard to say, not having any data, whether it survived the impetuous storms and follies of the Goths; or, whether it was not the town that Tarif took after landing.

Certain it is, that authors have strangely jumbled many towns together, for one and the same: as Calpe, Calpe Carteia, Algezira, Tarifa, Mellaria, Tartessus, Heraclea, Gadir, &c. and certain it is, that Algezira was built by the Moors, and so was Gibraltar. Gibraltar is a corruption from Gebel Tarif, and Algezira, from Al thee, and Gezira, an island, because of the island before, and within gun-shot of the town; and this was the place, where Tarif landed. After the tower of Cartahena, or the fort of Heraclea, the Caput Carteia, was taken by Tarif, and having gained the memorable battle over Roderic, Tarif built Algezira; but Gibraltar being called immediately from himself, we may venture to give the pre-eminence of antiquity to that impregnable

fortress, which no general can lose, but by pestilence, famine, and the want of ammunition. Julia Traducta on the Straits was changed to Tarifa, as a compliment likewise.

However, that I may not omit any satisfaction that can be given to my reader, I shall therefore relate, from the modern universal history of the Arabs, what happened relative to the Moor Tarif's success in Spain, which will retouch and illustrate what has been already said, and lead to what will follow in the course of these sheets.

In the ninety-third year of the hejra (7), answering to the year of our Lord seven hundred and twelve (8), Tarik, or Tarif Eben Zarka made a descent in Spain with a body of the Moslem troops, defeated Roderic, the last king of the Goths there, reduced the city of Toledo, and over-ran a considerable part of that kingdom. Taric was sent to Spain by Mûsa Ebn Okair, or Okail, who seems to have commanded the caliph Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec's forces (9) in the western parts of Africa, and to have been the person who projected this expedition. Mûsa, being informed of Tarik's success, soon followed him with a body of auxiliary troops, composed of Arabs and Africans; and, after the junction of these two Moslem generals, the Arabs made themselves masters of a great number of fortresses in Spain; subjugating in a manner the whole country, and obliged it to become tributary to the caliph. The Moslems acquired spoils of immense value in these expeditions, and amongst other things an exceeding rich table, called by the Arab writers, the table of Solomon, the son of David. Those writers pretend, that this table consisted entirely of silver and gold, and was adorned with three borders of pearls; but Roderic, of

(7) The reader will observe, that I have given the Arabian words in the same spelling, as those authors have been pleased to hand down to us: but at the same time would recommend the Arabic translation, in Mod. Univ. Hist. throughout this book. (8) Mod. Univ. Hist. vol. II. b. I. c. II. p. 179, 180, 181. (9) Ebn signifies son, i. e. Al Walid, the son of Abd'almâlec.

Toledo,

Toledo, represents it as consisting of one entire stone, of a green colour, and an immense size, having no less than three hundred and sixty-five feet. He also relates, that it was found in a certain village, or town, denominated from it, the city of the table, near the mountain called in his days, Jibel Solimân, Mount Solomon, or the mountain of Solomon. Roderic is, however, inconsistent with himself, when he asserts, that Mûsa had first the possession of this famous table, and yet, almost in the same breath, is pleased immediately after to affirm, that Tarik made a present of it, with many other valuable effects, to Mûsa. It will, therefore, be more safe to adhere, in this point, to the testimony of the Arab historians; who relate, that Tarik either brought it, or took care to have it conveyed, to Al Walid himself. After Mûsa and Tarik had committed dreadful devastations in Spain, they were recalled from thence by the caliph. However, Mûsa sent his son Abd'alaziz into that country, who fixed his residence at Seville, and afterwards married Egebo, or Egebon, king Roderic's widow; but being persuaded by his wife to wear the diadem after the Gothic manner, he was assassinated by the Arabs, who from thence concluded, that he had become a convert to Christianity, whilst he was performing his devotions. Abd'alaziz, after a reign of three years was succeeded by Ayub Ebn Halib, by whose advice his predecessor had been murdered, and who was looked upon by the Arabs as the most prudent Moslem in Spain. Ayub is said to have built a city, called Calatayub, and to have transferred the royal seat from Seville to Corduba. Some authors relate, that the two sons of Vitiza, Roderic's predecessor, and count Julian, whose daughter Roderic had ravished, applied this year to Mûsa for a body of troops, which they offered to conduct into Spain, and put that kingdom into the hands of the caliph. But Al Walid, say they, suspecting treachery in this affair, ordered Mûsa to send over a small detachment of his forces, and to form a notion of that count's sincerity from the reception those Arabs should meet

with in Spain. Upon which, continue they, he assigned Julian only a body of four hundred foot, and one hundred horse, under the command, it seems, of Tarik, or, as he is called by the Spanish historians, Tarif, who passed the Straits of Hercules, now known by the name of the Straits of Gibraltar; he was joined by a good number of Julian's friends, and ravaged the maritime coast of Bætica and Lusitania. Soon after which, the Arabs returned loaded with spoil and plunder to Africa. The Moslems also this year extended their conquests into other parts; Masalamas, Moslema, or Moslem, one of their generals, reducing the city of Amasia, and seizing upon a considerable part of Pontus and Armenia (1).

The next year, being the ninety-fourth of the hejra, and of Christ seven hundred and thirteen, Tarik, or Tarif, assembled a body of twelve thousand men, which he put privately on board some merchantmen, collected for that purpose by count Julian, and transported them to the rock or mountain Calpe, denominated afterwards from this general Jibel Tarif, that is, the rock or mountain of Tarif; from whence the word Gibraltar, the name of a city erected at the foot of this rock since that event, has been formed. Tarif, soon after his arrival in Spain, made himself master of an ancient city, that stood at no great distance, in a western direction, from the spot on which Gibraltar was afterwards built, and from him received the name of Tarifa, or Tariffa, by which it is also at present known. This town was undoubtedly the Julia Traducta of the old geographers, and neither the Mellaria nor the Carteia of the Ancients, as some of the Spanish historians pretend. After the reduction of this place, the Moslem general marched to Seville, which he easily possessed, as it was not in a state of defence. Many other towns of considerable note likewise surrendered to

(1) Al Makin. ubi sup. p. 72. Greg. Abul. Faraj, ubi sup. Roderic Tole-
tan. Hist. Arab. c. ix. p. 8, 9. Isidor. Pacens. Theophan. ubi sup. p. 320.

him,

him, which enabled him to plunder Lusitania. Roderic, receiving advice of these depredations, sent his cousin-german Eneco, Enecon, or Inach, called by some writers Sanctius, with a raw, undisciplined rabble of an army, drawn together in haste, and left a great number of their men dead upon the field of battle. This so animated Tarif, that he resolved not to lay down his victorious arms till he had made an absolute conquest of Spain. Some of the Christian writers pretend, that Al Walid died this year; but this, as running counter to the concurrent testimony of all the best Arab historians, must by no means be admitted. Al Hejâj Ebn Yusef Al Thakîfi, died in the month of Ramadân, and the ninety-fifth year of the hejra, answering to the year of our Lord seven hundred and fourteen; and Al Walid in the ninety-sixth of the hejra.

The Saracens and Arabs called Algier, Algezair (2), which, in Arabic, signifies an island, because it is situated near a small island: and this name has ever since continued; but yet it hath been several ways corrupted, some calling it Algiers, and others Argier, or Arget. Mr Shaw (3) says, "That Algiers, Alje-zeire, " or Alje-zeirah (for so, says this gentleman, we should pronounce " it) signifieth in the Algerine language, the island; so called for " being in the neighbourhood (not as Leo acquaints us, of the Balearic island, but) of the eastern mound of the harbour, which, " till after the time of the Turkish conquests, was severed from the " continent. In their public letters and records, they stile it (Alje-zeire Megerbie) the island in the west, to distinguish it from " a city of the same name near the Dardanelles (4)."

(2) Ogilby's Hist. of Africa, p. 220. (3) Vid. his Travels or Observations.

(4) I shall renew this affair, and of the Moorish invasion, in the course of this work.

C H A P. IV.

OF BARBARY, ITS ORIGIN; TINGIS, CEUTA, AND THE STRAITS; AND THE NAME MAURITANIA; OF THE VARIOUS NATIONS ON THAT SIDE THE FRETUM HERCULEUM, ETC.

THE Orientals call Africa, Magrib, which is the west; i. e. that part of Africa called Barbary, and the Numidian and Libyan deserts, down to the western ocean, all which they term Magrib, and sometimes Algarb, on account of its situation in respect of them: but when they would distinguish, they say Magrib the hithermost, the middle, the furthestmost, if they mean Barbary; if the desert, they say, Sahara Magrib.

This part of Barbary (1) is supposed to be peopled by the dregs and refuse of the primitive Egyptians: and that when the Tingitana (2) was abstracted from the rest of Africa, and annexed to Spain, then Mauritania Cæsariensis began between Tangier and Ceuta, including that city: that the eastern (3) bounds of Tingitana is fixed at the seven mountains, from whence Septa (or Sibta, as the Africans call it, and we Ceuta; i. e. Seven, from the Spaniards) deriving its appellation, and which, in this last division, became included in the Cæsariensis; some call this city Trajectum, and others Julia Trajecta.

As Ceuta and Tangiers, or rather cape Spartel, are the bounds of the Straits on the Barbary side; so is Gibraltar and Trafalgar on the Spanish coast: I shall therefore endeavour to keep within these bounds, lest the rapid current of the Straits hurries me beyond the limits which I have prescribed myself.

The inhabitants of this country can claim great antiquity; for Procopius assures us, that the Canaanites, expelled their country by Joshua about three thousand two hundred years ago, actually

(1) Vid. J. Morgan's Hist. of Algiers, p. 3. (2) Idem, p. 47. (3) Idem, p. 57.

THE CITY OF NEW YORK
IN SENATE
January 10, 1894.

REPORT
OF THE
COMMISSIONER OF THE LAND OFFICE
IN RESPONSE TO A RESOLUTION
PASSED BY THE SENATE
MAY 1, 1893.

ALBANY:
J. B. LEECH, PRINTERS.
1894.

Report of the
Committee on
the
State of the
Union
for the
Year 1861

Presented to
the
House of Representatives
at the
Commencement of the
Session, December 3, 1861
by
J. M. Schenck, Clerk of the House

found this country peopled: and, that in the Vandal war in Africa, where Procopius accompanied Belisarius, in quality of secretary, were then to be seen near a great fountain at Tangier, two columns of white stone, whereon, in the Phœnician tongue, was an inscription to this effect, WE FLY FROM THE ROBBER JOSHUA, THE SON OF NUN.

Almost innumerable are the writers, ancient and modern, who mention this: Ib'n Al Rakik says the same thing, but places the stones at Carthage, in imitation of those at Tyre.

Tangier (4) was a great mart of the Phœnicians, who had a colony in it (5): the learned Sammes says, it was called for excellency the Mart, from the Phœnician word tigger, a mart, and from tagger, a trade, and now retains its ancient termination in Tangier. This town, called Old Tingis, hath been the most famous among the Ancients (6), built, as they say, by Antæus, and so renowned, that the neighbouring Mauritania took from it the name of Mauritania Tingitana, and the Straits of Fretum Tingitanum; yet, were its bishop and government united long since to Ceuta, where they had their residence, till the disunion of the estates of Portugal and Castile, Ceuta remaining in the hands of the Spaniards, Tangier and Cazar Ezzaghir returning to the Portuguese. This Ceuta is still garrisoned from Spain, and the place very strong; they daily mount five hundred men, as general Crawford assured me, who visited Ceuta, during my residence in Gibraltar, and in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four: it lies in the latitude $35^{\circ} 50'$ north, and about 6° west, from London, say the authors of the Universal History; but Mr. Salmon lays it down in $35^{\circ} 40'$ north, and 7° west.

Mauritania Tingitana, or Maurusa of the Ancients, derived their names from the Mauri (7), an ancient people inhabiting it,

(4) Sam. Brit. p. 22. (5) Mela. (6) Blome's Descrip. of Barbary, p. 346. (7) Univ. Hist. Africa.

frequently mentioned by old historians and geographers: but authors are not agreed among themselves about the origin of this word, and the city Tingis, near Tangiers, which city was of great antiquity; and according to Mela, Solinus, and Pliny, Antæus, cotemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the first foundation of it: the ancient people inhabiting this part of the globe, called themselves Mauri; and the most natural opinion of the meaning of that word, is that of Bochart, who styles it Maur, i. e. one from the west, or a western person, since Mauritania was west of Carthage and Phœnicia, or the boundary of our voyages, as the Carthaginians and Phœnicians, for several ages, might have said of the Tingitanans: and that the Mauritaniens were divided into many cantons, according to Ptolemy, those of Metagonitæ were near the Straits of Hercules, and the Succossii, or Cocossii, took up the coast of the Iberian sea.

This kingdom was reduced to a Roman province in Claudius's reign, and had this name given it to distinguish it from Mauritania Cæsariensis, as Dio informs us: and from Pliny and some inscriptions in Gruter, it appears to have been simply called Tingitana, from its principal city Tingi, to distinguish it, as is above related.

Although Augustus had done something towards a grant of some cities in the Tingitana to Spain, yet it was the emperor Otho who first made to the province of Bætica in Spain, a formal grant of certain cities in the Tingitana, some of which remained to the Spanish crown for many ages, even till after the conquest of Spain by the Arabs and Moors, in the reign of Roderic, the last Gothic king.

The Romans were never in actual possession of so many parts of Africa, as they were at the time of the Vandal invasion (8); notwithstanding which, and their strong and numerous garrisons,

(8) Morgan's Hist. Algiers, p. 73.

they

they were not able to prevent the almost daily incursions and devastations of the other Africans; probably those to the south, and the generality of the mountaineers, who seem to have borne a no less irreconcilable hatred and inveteracy to the name of Christianity, than do their present posterity.

Their natural aversion to restriction of manners, their roving, unsettled disposition, their impatience of a rigid, haughty, oppressive, and tyrannical government, such as certainly that of the imperious Romans, whose licentiousness and depravation of morals visibly increased as their empire declined; all these, together with the wrong steps taken by Bonifacius, (then chief governor of the imperial forces in the African provinces) facilitated the ravages and exorbitances of this inhuman northern nation, which proved in a manner the ruin of this very flourishing country, the dire effects whereof it may be said to feel to this very day, since many fine cities, then destroyed, have ever since been in ruins.

In the beginning of the fifth century, the western empire was over-run by the Goths, &c. who, among the innumerable disorders and barbarities, by those scourges of mankind committed and perpetrated, infected all places where they came with their pestilential heresies; Spain fell to the share of the Vandals, Sueves, and Visi-Goths: these last continued sovereigns of the whole realm, till Roderic, their last king, was deprived of both crown and life by the Arabs and Moors of Barbary.

The Vandals possessed themselves of the province of Bætica, from them called Vandalusia, and since corrupted into Andalusia. Genferic was king of these Vandals in Spain, and Bonifacius was the comes, or governor of Africa, which was in four hundred and twenty-eight, in the reign of Valentinian the third, who commissioned troops to go against the said Bonifacius as a traitor; but he called over from Spain to his assistance, the Vandal king Genferic, who in May having crossed the Fretum Tingitanum, landed

in Mauritania, at the head of eighty thousand fighting men. It was not long before Boniface had reason to repent his having so inconsiderately introduced such insolent guests, who fought nothing but their own advantages; and finding the majority of the Africans, more particularly such as most detested the Roman name, partly on account of their being Christians, but still more for their imperiousness, licentious avarice, and tyranny, ready to side with any that should offer, in order to exterminate the hated imperialists; he made his peace with the emperor, and, with what strength he could raise, came to a battle with the Vandals, and their auxiliary Africans, wherein he was defeated, and forced to quit Africa. The Vandal princes in Africa were six in number, most of them remarkably infamous for their impiety, tyranny, and cruel, sanguinary disposition; in short, these Vandals, (who either landed at Ceuta, or Tangier) brought upon the Roman provinces horrible disorders, pollutions, slaughters, and massacres, and every thing that was bad: however, the last and sixth African Vandal king was Gilimer, against whom, in five hundred and thirty-three, the emperor Justinian sent Belisarius, who arrived on the coast of Africa, with a powerful army, and a fleet of five hundred sail. Gilimer fought his bold invader: when, coming to a battle, he first had the advantage, but knew not how to keep it, Belisarius giving him a defeat.

Belisarius having put an end to this Vandal war, part of the imperial army marched westward to Cæsaræa, and thence as far as Ceuta, all which coast was easily cleared of the residue of those Arians.

This last war, from the landing of the imperialists, to the total reduction and final expulsion of the Vandals, lasted not six months complete.

I am now come to the reduction of Barbary by the Saracens, which was totally reduced (excepting some few strong-holds in possession

possession of the Spanish Goths) from the first years of the fortunate reign of Walid Aben Abdalmalec, the sixth khalifa of the Omniade race, and Mahomet's tenth successor.

This is the Ulit mentioned in the foregoing sheets, he succeeded his father Abdalmalec Aben Marivan, in the year of the hejira eighty-six, and most triumphantly swayed the Saracen scepter till A. H. ninety-six, almost ten years, and died in the year of Christ seven hundred and fifteen, as some authors say. This prince's conquests were great; for he not only conquered the west, but likewise the east, laying a good part of India under contribution, as far as the Ganges; and indeed all Christendom had great reason to remember the success of this Saracen prince.

In the year seven hundred and twenty-two was the fatal year, which put a period to the very name of Christianity throughout Barbary, and all its neighbourhood: the Saracens had not attempted its total extirpation in Africa, till they had got firm footing in Spain: but having reduced the far greater part of that opulent country, and enriched themselves with the spoils of the vanquished Goths, their tyranny and pride increased with their wealth and power.

The African Christians, of what sect soever, who would not immediately become Mahometans, were either killed or banished.

Although the Gothic kings of Spain had possessed several parts of the Tingitanan coasts, under the direction of the comes, or governor, the last of which being don Julian: yet the sovereignty of those Spanish dominions in Africa, which was to have been the reward of the too successful treason, soon became incorporated in the rest of the Musselman conquests: which memorable exploits were all performed during the fortunate administration of the famous Moufa Aben Naffir, whom Walid the khalifa's uncle Abdalaziz, (or rather Ab'd-al-aziz) viceroy of Egypt, sent governor of Cairouan, one hundred and twenty miles from Carthage, and consequently of all the Saracen conquests in Barbary.

In

In seven hundred and eleven, and of the hejira ninety-two, his arms and other methods were so successful, that he could send over to Europe one of his captains to conquer Spain; his name, says Mr. Morgan, was Tharek Aben Zeyad, who first landed at Algezira, at the head of five hundred men: Tharek the same as Taric.

Moufa understanding that his men had got firm footing on the Spanish shore, supplied them with twelve thousand Moors. This brave and fortunate Moor has rendered his name immortal to all posterity; he was no other than Mûsa's slave. However, the town of Algezira, built afterwards of the materials of Carteia, which some call Old Gibraltar, opposite to Gibraltar, in the bay of that name, (which the Spaniards, after their corrupt and abusive manner, pronounce Khibraltar) is by the Arabs called Al Jezeirat Tharek, or the island of Tharek, as some pronounce it.

Mr. Morgan, following the best Spanish and Arabian authors, mentions no town at the foot of Calpe: and the town, now called Algezira, taking its name from Tharek's little island, on which he first landed, now a Spanish garrison, and within cannon-shot of the town: points, that there was no town there when Tharek made the descent; and I may affirm, there were no towns in Gibraltar bay before the Moors invaded the country, except at Rocabillo, the Carteia of the Ancients, and the fort Heraclea, overlooking Carteia.

The twelve thousand Moors marched and took Medina Sidonia, that ancient fortress, and many other towns; their arms striking terror wherever they went. There is no certainty, says Mariana, what became of count Julian, but that it was a received opinion, without the testimony of any author to support it, that his wife was stoned to death, a son of his cast head-long from a tower at Ceuta, and that he himself was condemned to perpetual imprisonment by the Moors, whom he so much laboured to serve.

In

In a castle called Loharri, near the city Huefca, is shewn a stone tomb, without the church of the castle, where it is reported he was buried: the archbishop D. Roderic, and D. Lucas de Tuy affirm, that both he and the sons of king Witiza were deprived of all they possessed, and he put to death.

It is also said (9), that at Algiers they have a tradition, that the much injured and beautiful Cava was interred in a tomb in a burial-place of that city.

However, the first successes of the infidels encouraged them to land in Spain in crowds (1): on the other side, king Roderic having assembled an army of one hundred thousand combatants, but new raised, raw, and ill-armed, marched at their head into Andalusia, to a place called Xeres, with design to give them battle. Seven days passed in skirmishes, but on the eighth the armies joined, the combat was long and doubtful, and the Christians seemed to have the advantage, when the archbishop Oppas went over to the infidels with a body of troops, and attacked the Christians in flank, who being weakened by such men leaving them, and wearied with long fighting, could no longer dispute the field, but fled.

King Roderic being in a rich chariot, exposed to the view of his army, mounted his war-horse, and flung himself upon his enemies with great intrepidity and valour, but it was too late, and seeing himself abandoned by his own people, was forced to fly like the rest. What became of him is not certain, but it was supposed he was drowned, passing the river Guadalete, where his horse and habiliments were found.

The Moors, after this victory, divided their forces, and extended themselves to that degree, that in eight months they were masters of all Spain; which could not be recovered in eight hundred years; and what is very extraordinary, it was lost by one single battle, which cost three thousand seven hundred to regain!

(9) Vid. Morgan's Hist. Algiers. (1) Richer's Abrid. Hist. Spain, p. 7.

Thus

Thus ended the kingdom of the Goths, which at that time extended from Tangier, in the kingdom of Fez in Africa, to the river Rhone in France, and from the ocean to the Mediterranean.

Turquet says, the battle was fought between Medina Sidonia and Xeres (pronounced Gutteral Heres, from whence comes cherry wine) upon a Sunday in September: the horse on which Roderic rode was called Orelia; he was dressed in a royal mantle, and a crown on his head, with other rich ornaments.

The revolt in Roderic's army, was the cause of almost all his army being cut to pieces, and all Spain was therefore lost in a few days, except the Asturias, Biscay, and some part of the Pyrenees, whither the remainder of the nobility and people fled. King Roderic was never seen more; his horse and spoils were only found in a morass: yet in the town of Viseo, in Portugal, there was an inscription in Latin, importing, THAT RODERIC, THE LAST KING OF THE GOTHs, WAS THERE INTERRED.

After the defeat of Roderic, there was no order nor government among the Goths, for every man followed what party did best please him: some retired into the mountains of Asturia, Biscay, and into Navarre; others went into Gaul; many passed into Italy, Germany, England, &c. begging aid from those princes, (but to no effect) to restore the ruined state of Spain.

As Algezira was the first spot of ground on which the Moors trod, and the small island before it; I shall first treat of that place.

Aljezirat was built by the Moors about their second year of coming into Spain, on the west side of the bay of Gibraltar, and strongly fortified, (as its ruins still shew;) for the Moorish town-wall is of prodigious solidity, which, when it was in a state of defence, held a remarkable siege: it is now respectable in its ruins, and in its castle, as it is called; but in fact, Algezira was divided into two towns, the southern part is called the Castle, which father Labat, that great traveller, looks upon to have been built above

one thousand years ago; which is very true, and brings us to about the Moorish descent. Indeed Labat says, the ruins of the town are of an earlier date: perhaps led to that way of thinking by a conclusion, that Carteia once occupied that spot. I have thoroughly examined that wall, and, by the appearance, it looks of a more modern date than the castle. The ruins are a pebble Tappia Moorish composition: over which, time and the laws of petrefaction have so prevailed, as to make of a ruin, a huge rock. However, the most ancient town was destroyed, which has induced people, ignorantly, to call Algezira Old Gibraltar.

In one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven, pope Nicholas the third compelled don Alphonso, king of Castile, to renew the war with the Moors: and sent don Alonzo word, that for the support of his wars against the infidels, his predecessor had permitted him to levy a tax upon the clergy, for which reason he expected that he should immediately renew the war against the infidels, or discontinue the tax (2). Upon this, he was constrained to break the truce he had made, and to send an army commanded by his sons don Pedro and don Alonzo, to besiege Algezira (3), and he fitted out a fleet with instructions to block up that place by sea (4). The quarrel in the royal family was by this time composed, the queen consented to return to her husband, the princess Blanche was allowed to go into France, and the two infants were kept by the king of Arragon (5). This, one would have imagined, must have been attended with favourable circumstances, but it happened otherwise. The queen thought it beneath her to return into Castile, without discharging the debts she owed in Arragon; the king's finances were so low, and the demands of the public upon him so pressing, that he could not spare her that sum;

(2) Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. Part iv. *Chronica General de Espana*. Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xx. B. xix. c. i. p. 224. (3) The same as Algezira. (4) *Chronica del Rey don Alonso el Sabio*, &c. (5) Zurit. *Annal. Arragon*. *Chronica del Rey D. Alonso el Sabio*.

but the infant don Sancho went to Seville, seized upon a Jew, who was treasurer at war to the army commanded by his brethren, and taking the sum requisite from him, sent it to his mother. This proved the ruin both of the army and the fleet. The former was exceedingly weakened by famine, the latter beaten by the Moors, being but very indifferently supplied; so that Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, coming over, forced the young princes, don Pedro, and don Alonso, to raise the siege with great loss; and observing afterwards that their camp was in a much better situation than that of the town, he caused the place, which bears now the name of Algezira, to be erected there, and directed the old one to be demolished (6); and which has been, by oral tradition, handed down to us, calling Algazires, Old Gibraltar.

In one thousand three hundred and sixteen, Ishmael, king of Granada, found himself so much pressed by the Christians, that he demanded succours of the king of Fez, and, to facilitate the receiving them, put Algezira and several other places into his hands, which gave the Christians much concern (7). Algazires, therefore, belonged to the African king.

I read (8) of a vast deep cavern, that was locked by the governour of the castle; to which you descended one hundred steps, before you approach the entrance: that the cave was very long, and the declivity such, as to make the descent troublesome: which cave led to a labyrinth, through a passage of twenty feet broad, and thirty feet high: the labyrinth abounds with crystallizations: from hence you go into a cave, which is a vast deal larger, and filled with an immense number of various kinds of figures, which reflect the light, that comes from the torches, in a most surprising manner: and though echoes are common in such places, it is very rare to meet with them so strong as here (9); for upon the

(6) *Chronica General de Espana. Chronica del Rey don Alonzo el Sabio, &c.* (7) *Chronica General de Espana. Rainald.* (8) *Udal ap Rhys's account of Spain, &c.* (9) *Idem.*

discharge of a pistol, it returns a great many terrible vollies, and continues a long time. When I visited Algezira, they informed me that the entrance was walled with masonry, and the way to it filled up with rubbish. Spain is famous for caves, and so is the land of Africa opposite, as I shall shew when I treat of Gibraltar.

In the latter end of the year one thousand three hundred and forty-two (1), the great king Alonzo the eleventh went to Tarifa, near which his fleet was, in order to take a view of Algezires by sea, and finding it a beautiful and spacious city, the captives also affirming it was ill provided with corn, he resolved to lay siege to it. King Alonzo's forces were but small, and he had no store of provisions: nevertheless he called together all the garrisons of the neighbouring places, and summoned many of the nobility to attend him.

The councils of Andalusia furnished more than their usual quota towards the war, and the king went away to Seville to provide magazines: two thousand horse, and five thousand foot, being gathered, he sat down before Algezira, on the third of August. The gallies of Castile and Arragon were to guard the sea: in the town were eight hundred horse, and twelve thousand archers, a force great enough to have given battle in open field. They made frequent sallies, and skirmished with various success; yet the tower of Cartahena, between Gibraltar and Algezira, at Carteia, (originally Fort Hercules) was taken: and by the ruins of this fort, there appears no Moorish architecture; for the arches are Roman, and were kept in good repair, whereas all the walls of Algezira and Gibraltar are Moorish, the addition of Spain and England excepted.

One day, during this siege, king Alonzo was in great danger of being killed by a captive, who struck at him with a dagger, he

(1) Mar. Hist. Spain.

snatched it out of a soldier's hand, but such as were near, interposed.

It was believed the siege would last long, therefore trenches were cast up. Mean while, to the king's great dissatisfaction, in September, the fleet of Arragon went away, on pretence of the war with Majorca: yet soon after, upon the king of Castile's pressing instances, ten gallies were sent him, under the Arragonian vice admiral Matthew Mercero, and again ten more under James Escrivia.

In October fell such great rains, that every thing in the camp was spoiled; and the army underwent many hardships, especially want of money, and the kingdom being exhausted, the king was obliged to borrow of pope Clement the sixth, and the kings of France and Portugal. The king of France lent fifty thousand ducats: the pope gave a third part of ecclesiastical revenues. The besieged promised great rewards to any, that would undertake to murder the king, and a Moor, blind of one eye, was taken, and confessed that he and several others were out upon that design: soon after, two others being put to the rack, confessed the same.

It was now the beginning of one thousand three hundred and forty-three, and nothing considerable was done at Algezira, only some works were carried on by Inigo Lopez de Horosco; wooden towers were applied to the walls, and other engines played, but all was destroyed with stones cast by the defendants. The place was unfit for advancing works, or for the men to ascend: and, as I have already said, it was divided into the old and new town, which some call a castle: it was at this time the seat of the African empire in Spain, very strong, and of the utmost consequence either to the Christians or the Moors.

No provision could be conveyed into the town, except a few boats that stole in by night, which was a small relief, where hunger began to pinch. It was now doubtful, whether it was not better to raise the siege, than continue it, for the money sent by

the pope and the king of France was spent, and the king of Portugal had contributed nothing: some overtures were made, but took no effect: therefore the Moorish king of Granada advanced with his army, as far as the river Guadiaro, five leagues from Algezira. In Ceuta a great fleet was ready with the power of Africa, to pass over into Spain: these were fresh, and the Christians harassed; yet the king's resolution and good fortune overcame all difficulties. Considerable succours came to Alonzo from England, France, and Navarre: from England the earls of Derby and Salisbury, from France the earl of Faux, with his brother, and some others.

King Philip of Navarre having sent before great store of provisions by sea, and ordered his army to follow, hastened away himself, to get time enough for the battle, which was expected to be fought. D. John de Lara, and D. John Manuel, came before; and fresh forces came daily from all parts. This increase of the Christian army terrified the Moors, and they proposed a peace. Notwithstanding the treaty, the town was battered, and the besieged did great harm among the Christians with iron bullets they shot. And this is the first time any mention is made of gunpowder and ball in Europe. The Moors had the knowledge of cannon from the Asiatics; the English at the embassy and siege, attained to the art, and used them with success afterwards at Cressy, and at the blockade at Calais: and afterwards at Berwick in England.

At Algezira, when autumn came on, the foreign soldiers went away, and the English pretended they were called home by the king; the earl of Faux said his men complained of their pay. But sickness was the chief motive of their departure; and the earl of Faux died at Seville; king Philip of Navarre at Xeres, both in the month of September, and their bodies were carried into their own countries.

The

The departure of those princes encouraged the Moors to hazard a battle. Sixty gallies of theirs, which in October had anchored at Estapona, passed thence to Gibraltar. The river Palmones, in the bay of Gibraltar, parted the two armies; both parties several times met in that river; at last they came to a battle, in which the Moors shewed no bravery, but presently fled.

Hunger pressed in the city, for Alonzo's fleet had taken two gallies of the Moors, carrying in provisions. At the beginning of one thousand three hundred and forty-four, five barks got in, and they returned safe into Africa, and gave account, that the besieged could hold out no longer. Presently after, a treaty was set on foot, and on the twenty-sixth of March the city was delivered upon the following conditions: "The king of Granada to pay
" the usual tribute for four years; that the besieged have leave to
" depart, and carry away their goods; and that there be a truce
" for the term of ten years." Many of the Moors went over into Africa; and Alonzo entered the city in solemn procession on the twenty-seventh of March; the great mosque was consecrated, and the walls destroyed, and the country divided among the soldiers who were willing to live there. Such is the account which Mariana gives of this affair; I shall therefore relate this very important siege from the Modern Universal History, as it contains a more particular account.

King Alonzo, having undertaken the important siege of Algizira, found great difficulty in raising the supplies for the next year, and money was extremely necessary, as he had the Genoese and other foreigners in his pay, and therefore what he could not obtain from the states, he borrowed. The king of Morocco had made vast preparations, and seemed disposed to return once more into Spain. Don Giles de Boccanegra sunk, burned, and took twelve of his gallies from Portugal, and the squadron of Arragon attacked and beat the whole fleet of the Moors with great
loss.

loss (2). The king, notwithstanding he found some backwardness in the nobility, who were really tired out with the length and the hardships of the service, to rid himself once for all from the apprehensions he was under from Barbary, resolved to besiege Algezira, which, as he was informed, was at that time but indifferently provided: this equally amazed and chagrined the king of Granada, who endeavoured and found several methods of conveying succours into the place, which kept don Alonzo before it all the rest of the year. The Moor attempted likewise its relief, by negotiation and by force, but without effect. He likewise commissioned a Moor to make an attempt upon the king of Castile's person, which was happily discovered and prevented, the fellow, as he deserved, being put to death (3).

There are few instances in history of a more remarkable siege than this of Algezira, in which, on both sides, there was manifested all that human skill and courage could perform; the king of Morocco raised another great army, and assembled a vast fleet; but when he was ready to pass the Straits, one of his sons revolted; and though he found means to have him killed, yet one of his adherents personated him, and maintained a rebellion. The king of Granada, having received a part of the succours which his ally had promised, under the command of prince Aly, another of his sons, attempted frequently to raise the siege, and ventured several actions, in which they were defeated by don Juan de Lara. The besieged thundered upon the king's camp with cannon, which were here first employed, as all the Spanish historians agree (4). Besides this opposition from his enemies, don Alonzo found himself much straitened in other respects. He could not leave the siege to seek supplies, and his credit was gradually exhausted. At

(2) Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Brandaon. (3) Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Ferreras. (4) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Mariana. Mayerne. Turquet. Ferreras.

length he thought of a stratagem, which procured him those aids his subjects had refused to his fortitude in necessity. He sent his own plate, and that of the lords who were with him to Seville, where he ordered it to be coined into pieces current, at a higher rate than the standard; of which the inhabitants in his great cities having notice, offered him a large free gift to desist from that expedient, which he willingly accepted (5).

The pope and the French king likewise sent him large sums (6). The fame of this siege was so great, that don Philip, king of Navarre, repaired thither with a great body of troops, and died in his return. Several English and French men of quality, with considerable reinforcements, came thither, and served for a time; but the extreme length of the siege tired out all the strangers, and brought the king into fresh distresses for money; the Genoese threatening to return, or to revolt, if they were not paid (7). On the other hand, the king of Granada made a proposition to pay the whole expences of the war, if the king would raise the siege; and this, in effect, was a fresh distress, for his hungry troops importuned the king to close with these offers; but his good sense furnished him with an expedient to turn, even this, to his advantage; for he demanded three hundred thousand pistoles in gold, and granted a passport for a galley to go to Ceuta to receive them from the king of Morocco. This galley, in her return, notwithstanding the king's passport, was attacked by the Genoese, but, however, escaped; but, instead of bringing the money, brought an order to hazard a battle, and to save the place at any rate. These orders were obeyed, and the Moors were thoroughly beaten (8). Still the place held out, notwithstanding the port

(5) Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chron. Gen. de Espan. (6) Raimond. P. Daniel Hist. de France. Ferreras. (7) Historia de Royaume de Navarre. Chron. var. Antiq. P. Daniel. Ferreras. (8) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Alphonf. a Cartagena reb. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.

was blocked up, not only by a strong squadron, but by a kind of dyke, in spite of which, one Musa, a Moorish seaman, at stated times when the nights were dark, passed with fifty small vessels, that drew little water, and carried supplies of provisions; so that, notwithstanding the king's information was true, that their magazines were low at the beginning, yet they were, by this means, supplied, and the place remained in the hands of the Moors all this year (9).

At the beginning of the next year one thousand three hundred and forty-three, the king discovered Musa's practice; and having made such alterations in his dyke, as rendered it impossible for the future; of which Abul Affan being informed, he directed the king of Granada to make the best terms for the garrison he could. That prince proposed to don Alonzo, that the troops and inhabitants should have free leave to march out; that he would acknowledge himself his vassal, and pay the usual tribute; and that a truce should subsist for fifteen years; the king, to maintain his dignity, reduced the truce to ten years; and upon these terms the capitulation was signed on the twenty-sixth of March, when the plenipotentiaries of the king of Granada kissed don Alonzo's hand, in token of homage (1). The place was evacuated the next day, and don Juan Emanuel entered it with a corps of troops, and the banner of Castile displayed, to the immortal honour of this great prince, and of his faithful nobility; by whose constancy, expressed in spending vast sums for his service, and by exposing their persons, this great conquest was attained. As soon as the king came to Seville, he ordered that the princesses, daughters of Abul Affan, who were taken in that monarch's camp, at the defeat of Salsedo, should be provided with most magnificent equi-

(9) Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. (1) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Alphonf. a Carthagera reg. Hispan. Anacephalæsis. Mariana. Mayerne. Turquet. Ferreras.

pages, and sent them with a suitable train on board his own gallees to Ceuta, without ransom. Abul Assan was amazed at this act of generosity, and soon after sent an embassy to return the king of Castile thanks, and to testify his esteem by presents of jewels, rich arms, gold and silver stuffs, most exquisite balsams and perfumes, together with lions, tigers, ostriches, and a considerable number of camels and horses (2). Soon after, don Alonzo received ambassadors from England and from Arragon, the former in reference to a marriage, which he thought proper to defer, and the latter in regard to the alliance subsisting between the two crowns, which the king was content to renew for ten years (3).

From this general, blended account, and the single one from father Mariana, the reader must have full satisfaction of this memorable siege, fraught with great actions; and the first account of artillery in Europe.

However, in one thousand three hundred and sixty-nine, the Moors of Granada took and raised Algezira, which gave the king don Henry great concern. He therefore ordered his generals to lay waste the open country, which was extremely well cultivated, which forced the Moors to demand a truce, which he granted, being convenient for his affairs (4).

C H A P. V.

OF CARTEIA, ALGEZIRA, TARIFA; OF PORTS UPON THE COAST OF THE STRAITS; OF BATTLES AND SIEGES, AND OTHER INCIDENTS.

THE true reason of placing Carteia at Tarifa or Algezira, seems to have been their not knowing any place which agreed better with the old accounts of Carteia (1), or where the

(2) Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. Chron. de los Moros de Espana. Chron. Gen. de Espana. Rainald. (3) Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Rod. Santii Hist. Hispan. part iv. (4) Chron. Gen. de Esp. Rod. Santii, &c. (1) Vid. Mr. Conduit in Phil. Trans.

ruins of a city, which made so great a figure, could be buried; the common practice of authors who describe places they have not seen; this appears to have been the case with most, especially Mariana (2); who, had he been in these parts, would not have been guilty of the oversight he has committed; where he places two bays in the Straits, one at Gibraltar, and the other at Tarifa, which error he was probably led into by another; for giving into the opinion, that Tarifa was the ancient Carteia, and finding that city placed in a bay by Mela, he concluded there must be one at Tarifa, which is an open road, and so much exposed, that in the least bad weather, the smallest vessels must be hauled on shore; which circumstance alone is a sufficient proof of its not being Carteia, which by all accounts was a famous harbour.

Though, continues this historian, there were very large ruins at Algezira, yet they are not such as give any room to suppose them to be the remains of a Roman city: for neither pieces of marble, inscriptions, or Roman coins, are to be found there: and the circumstance of Varus's shutting up the mouth of the harbour of Carteia, and the distance of forty or fifty stadia (3) from Calpe, are not applicable either to Tarifa or Algezira; and if one of those towns was Carteia, to what city do those ruins belong? since all the ancient geographers make Carteia not only the nearest town to Calpe, but the only one in that bay.

Most of the ancient geographers describe the coast westward of Carteia in the following manner: Julia Traducta, Mellaria, Belo Fluvius and Oppidum, Portus Bæsippon, Promontorium Junonis, &c. Antoninus's Itinerary makes no mention of Julia Traducta; and Pliny places it on the African coast, which Hardouin endeavours to account for (4). Strabo calls it Juliam Josam; which, as Bochart (5) observes, signifies the same thing in the

(2) Mar. Hist. Spain, B. I. c. ix. (3) A stadium was equal to six hundred and twenty-five feet. (4) Nummi Illustrati, p. 227. (5) Book I. chap. xxiv.

Phœnician language, as Traductam in the Latin. Ptolemy calls it Transducta, and places Barbesula between that and Carteia; but all other ancient geographers put both the town and river of that name eastward of Calpe.

Tarifa might have been built upon the ruins of Julia Traducta, which in all probability was a Phœnician town before. But I cannot conceive, why Mr. Conduit should be surpris'd at Tarif's rebuilding that place, when he found materials for so doing. It is indeed true, that neither river or harbour is there; but the proximity to Tangier and the African coast on the Strait, is an inducement; and the light row-gallies which they used, could be as easily hauled on the beach, as now are the Spanish barks, and Barbary gallies: so were the Roman vessels, as Cæsar himself testifies.

The rising ground which now commands the castle and town of Tarifa, did not hinder it, in the Africans time, of fortifying that place; because cannon was not then found out, and Mr. Conduit might have made the same objection to the castle of Gibraltar, which was built before the hill Calpe was environed with works. Therefore the eminence over Tarifa could not have annoyed that fortress, or be an hindrance to Tarif's building a castle on that spot at his second landing: and indeed the noble defence that town made, is a sufficient proof, that the rising ground could not have been of any disadvantage to the besieged. The Moors kept in possession of Tarifa five hundred and eighty-one years: for in one thousand two hundred and ninety-two king Sancho, of Castile, after beating the Mahometan squadron of twenty gallies, taking thirteen of them, was induced to lay siege to Tarifa, which fortress, after a long siege, he took on the twenty-first of September; and Roderic, master of the knights of Calatrava, was made governour: afterwards Alonso Perez de Gusman offered to defend it for one third of what was given to other governours: this gentleman was very rich; and had bought several towns in Andalusia,
adding

adding them to his paternal estate. From him are descended the dukes of Medina Sidonia, originally a Phœnician fortress, where was a temple to the Tyrian Hercules.

In one thousand two hundred and ninety-four, Tarifa was besieged, and the walls battered with all manner of engines, but the place being very strong, and the besieged encouraged by their noble commander, defended themselves as resolutely. It happened that the governor Alonso Perez de Gusman's (progenitor of the duke of Medina Sidonia, who commanded in the imagined invincible armada against England) only son was taken, whom the Moors presented to the view of the garrison, and threatened to cut off his head, unless the father surrendered. The father, not the least daunted, answered, "That if he had an hundred sons, they should all die sooner than he would stain his honour, by delivering that place with which he had been entrusted;" and to shew his resolution, threw a sword from the wall for them to execute him: this done, he went away to dinner. Soon after he returned, called by a great shout the soldiers gave, seeing those bloody Barbarians executing the innocent child. The father understanding the cause of that shout, calmly said, "He thought the enemy had entered the city," and so returned to dinner with his wife, without the least seeming concern.

The Moors despairing of success, since they could not move the governor by the death of his only son, returned into Africa. So we plainly see, that Tarifa was capable of defending itself, notwithstanding its being commanded at this day by a rising ground: and we are very sure, that Tarifa was highly valued both by the Moors and Spaniards; as may be gathered from the treaty of peace proposed to the Moors in one thousand two hundred and ninety-six, when the king of Granada demanded Tarifa, offering for it twenty-two castles, and twenty thousand crowns in ready money; and to advance the usual tribute of four years; which occasioned a difference between prince Henry, and Alonso Perez de

de Gusman, who violently opposed the delivering that fortress into the hands of the Moors.

This difference was heightened to such a degree, that the Moors being joined by some Christians, laid siege to that city. Alonzo Perez de Gusman had not a sufficient force, and his men deserted him; those were his enemies, who ought to have protected him. Nevertheless the place remained in the possession of the Spaniards; who were again besieged in one thousand three hundred and forty, by that inundation of Africans, whose army consisted of seventy thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot: an incredible number! who were five months crossing the Straits, and landed at Algezira, but were defeated at Salado; which obliged the Mahometans to raise the siege, and, ever since, it has belonged to Spain; but since the invention of gun-powder and expulsion of the Moors out of all Spain, it has been looked on of very little note, and is therefore in its fortifications gone to decay.

The routed Moors fled from Salado to Algezira, and fearing a siege, the king of Granada withdrew to Marbella, and Alboacen to Gibraltar, and sailed that very same night into Africa. The Christians, the next day, furnished the city of Tarifa with all necessaries, and ordered the breaches in the walls to be repaired.

However, this enormous act of perfidiousness and unmanly cruelty, committed by the infant don Juan, is otherways told, and which is thought most probable.

The infant don Henry, son to St. Ferdinand, and uncle to don Sancho, returned in one thousand two hundred and ninety-three from Italy, to revisit his native country, after having run through a long series of strange adventures. The king received him very kindly at Burgos, and granted him such a settlement as was suitable to his high rank, and near relation to him (6). Upon his

(6) Chron. del Rey don Sancho el Bravo.

application to the king of Portugal, not to protect his brother, the infant don Juan transported himself to Morocco, and finding Jacob Aben Joseph meditating war, he offered, if he would give him five thousand horse, and some foot, to recover Tarifa, which his brother had taken the year before. His proposal was accepted, and having embarked his forces in Andalusia, he invested Tarifa with a numerous army. The place was defended by don Alonso Perez de Gusman, with such spirit, that the Moors began to be discouraged. The infant don Juan being informed that the governor had a little son at nurse in an adjacent village, he caused the child to be brought to him, and then bid the Castilian advanced guard tell the governor, that if he did not immediately surrender the place, he would cut the child's throat before his eyes. This occasioned some commotion in the garrison, don Alonso rose from dinner to know what was the matter, and coming upon the walls, saw don Juan with his son in his hand, and heard him repeat his threats. Don Alonso immediately drew his sword, and throwing it to the infant, said, "If you, who were born a prince, and educated a Christian, dare to commit so execrable a villainy, know that I dare both keep the place and furnish you with a weapon." This, though it struck both the Moors and the garrison with admiration, had no effect upon the monster to whom it was addressed, since, in the fight of both, he took up the sword and butchered the poor infant. The length of the siege gave don Sancho time to come to its relief, with a numerous army, upon which the Moors raised the siege, and don Juan, being to go back to Morocco, deserted them, and retired to the king of Granada, to whom Aben Joseph yielded Algezira, the only place he had left in Spain, that he might be rid of any connections with that country. A resolution, however, to which himself and his successors did not always adhere (7).

(7) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. xx. B. xix. c. i. p. 243, 244.

I find this town was afterwards a captainship: for in one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven (8), the admiral of Spain recovered the government and captainship of Tarifa, with the castle thereof, which was given to his brother don Pedro Henriques, governour of the frontiers of Andalusia, who placed therein one Pedro de Godoy.

Tarifa stands upon an eminence, but is commanded; and from the coins that have been found there, the antiquaries are of opinion, that it was the Julia Traducta of the Romans (9). Its ancient walls and towers, with a strong castle, are still in being; and many of their houses are in the Moorish taste, as at Algezira and Gibraltar. But it may boast of much greater antiquity, for the tracks of a Roman colony are evident, not only from the structure of the town-wall itself in several places, but from some noble fragments of architecture, both in the public and private buildings; and these evidences are strengthened by urns, medals, and inscriptions, that have been frequently found there: here is a tower so called from the illustrious house of Gusman, who sawed off its battlements, his son being sacrificed.

Mr. Conduit saw (1) some ruins on the east side of the river Guadiaro, four leagues east of Gibraltar, which he takes to be the remains of the ancient Barbesula; as mention is made in the Cadiz Emporio del Obre of two pieces of marble brought from thence to Gibraltar; on one of which was M. M. BARBESVLANI. He was also credibly informed, they were used for the fountain upon the parade; the letters, probably, says he, were either sawed off, or turned inwards, as they did not appear: and that this Barbesula might be the Barberiana placed in the itinerary x. m. p. east from Carteia. Mr. Conduit met with two medals of Julia Traducta among the brass coins; but as he could not ascertain where they were found, he therefore does not pretend to form from

(8) Turquet. Gen. Hist. Spain, Book xxii. p. 868. (9) Udal ap Rhy's account of Spain. (1) Vid. Phil. Transf.

thence any judgment of the situation of the town, to which they might have belonged. This same gentleman had several Roman coins found there after great rains, in the common sewer; which he imagined to be some slight inducement to believe, that a Roman town stood formerly at Tarifa.

That about a league and a half to the westward of Tarifa, is a place, which went by the name of Val de Vaca: the country people have a tradition, that it was once a considerable town, but since swallowed up by the sea: there is a small brook, which serves to turn some mills, that a priest was encouraged to build there, by finding an ancient stone channel for the water. Mr. Conduit saw some other small ruins, and was credibly assured, that there are visible remains of an old town a good way under water. There is a shoal almost off this place that runs pretty far into the sea: perhaps Mellaria stood some where near.

Wherever it stood, its ruins must be a considerable way in the sea, if we credit Pliny, who, in his third book, upon the testimony of a person born there, reckons only five miles from thence to Africa; whereas, it is at present five leagues over at the narrowest part. Casaubon is therefore mistaken in that note, on the second book of Strabo, when he says, that the mouth of the Mediterranean, where narrowest, is scarce seventy stadia broad.

It is to be observed, that the best honey in all Spain is made in these parts; and that the same cause, to which the ancient Mellaria owed its name, still subsists, and has given a modern appellation to several places, as Rio de la Miel, Bejer de la Miel; the latter of these is generally reckoned by the Spaniards to be the old Mellaria; for no other reason but the name; for it is, at least, two leagues from the coast of the Straits; and by what Mr. Conduit could judge when he was upon the spot, as near the ocean, and therefore may as well be ascribed to one as the other; whereas Mellaria, according to all the ancient geographers, was situated on the sea-side in the Straits, and reckoned by Pliny the

nearest town to Africa; a plain proof, that it was not that which is now called Bejer de la Miel.

About a league and a half farther west, in a small bay, there are very large ruins, which appear plainly to be the remains of a Roman town; a league eastward, upon an eminence, are to be seen the quarries from which the stones were got for building it; and all the way from thence, are large remains of an aqueduct, of which there are in some places entire arches still standing. Among the ruins of the old town, Mr. Conduit saw the body of a large statue of fine alabaster, somewhat bigger than the life; his guide, said he, had seen it entire; but as it was an idol of the Gentiles, they had broke it to pieces: the guide likewise said, that certain old coins were found there. This place is called Balonia, and is over against Tangier, in Africa, and frequented by the Moors, on which account it is uninhabited; a small river called Alpariata runs by it; all which circumstances agree with the ancient accounts of Balo.

Mr. Conduit had a medal given him at Tangier, with the following letters upon it, BAILO, which probably belonged to this city; for it was usual with the Monetarii to impress the name of the city upon the coin, as I have sufficiently shewn on those I found in the ruins at Racadillo, the Carteia of the Ancients, in Gibraltar bay.

Bailo was called by Martianus Cappella (2), under the name of Veloniensis Bæticae Civitas: the itinerary of Antoninus places it six miles west of Mellaria, which is about the distance of these ruins, from Val de Vaca. About five leagues further is the cape Trafalgar, which Mela describes: near the cape's point, are the ruins often mentioned by the Spanish authors under the name of Aquas de Mecca. Mr. Conduit was assured, that there are still some ruins on the shore, and more in the sea that run along under

(2) Book VI.

the cape; particularly remains of a mole, which must have been a tolerable harbour. These ruins seem to be the remains of old Besippo, agreeable to Mela (3) and Pliny (4), who place next to the cape, or head of Juno, the haven Besippo, and the towns as follows: Belon and Mellaria, the Straits or firth out of the Atlantic sea: then Carteia, called Tartessus by the Greeks, and then the mountain Calpe: then within the firm land, the town Barbefula, with the river: item, the town Salbula, Suel-Malacha upon the river: then Menoba; so much for Pliny; now for Mela: Junonis Promontorium, (now Sancta Maria, aut el puerto de Sancta Maria) Mellaria, and Bello: Mellaria non extat. Carteia, Salduba, nunc Ubeda. Malaca, nunc Malaga. Menoba, nunc Velez Malaga.

Cape Trafalgar in Europe, and cape Spartel in Africa, form the entrance of the Fretum Herculeum, from the Atlantic ocean; and Europa point on Gibraltar rock, and Ceuta point in Barbary, form the entrance of the Mediterranean sea. So vice versa. But the lands about Tarifa, are the southernmost towards Africa.

The coast of the Mediterranean, from Malaga to Cadiz, is mostly high lands: for the mountain Orospea divides itself into two parts; one of them stretches itself towards Malaca, and joining to the mountains of Granada, runs beyond Gibraltar, (which is a peculiar mountain separate, and by itself) and Tarifa, as if it designed to pass the Straits into Africa (5).

But it seems very strange, that Mariana, and several others, should take the present Gibraltar to have been the ancient Heraclaea; when neither Pliny, who resided so long in those parts, and Mela, who was born not many miles off, make not the least mention of any such city thereabouts; excepting Strabo, who places it at forty stadia from Calpe, at the foot of which Gibralt-

(3) Mela de Situ Orb. Book II. chap. vi.
Mar. Hist. Spain, B. I. c. ii.

(4) Book I. chap. vii. (5)

tar is now situated. I am therefore persuaded, that Heraclea was at the fort of Carteia, called El Torre de Cartahena; and therefore agree in the grounds of most Spanish historians, that there was no town upon that mountain till the Moors invaded Spain, under Taric, or Tharik, who gave name to the hill; and which it has retained ever since.

It happened, that after the siege already related of Algezira, that Alboacen being invaded, and encountered by one of his sons called Alboanen (6), who had rebelled against him, at length deprived him of the kingdom of Fez, whereby the king of Castile entered into a new jealousy of war, this usurping, unnatural son not respecting the truce made with his father.

This Alboanen did not only take from his father the realm of Fez, but also all that he held in Spain, as Ronda, Zachara, Gibraltar, Ximena, Marbella, Estapona, Castillar, and others: but whilst the Moors molested one another, the king of Castile and his subjects had some rest, whereof they had great need, by reason of their continual toil, and great expences at the siege of Algezira.

But prior to this siege of Algezira by thirty-three years, I find the agreement betwixt D. Ferdinand, the fourth of that name, and twelfth king of Castile, and thirty-third of Leon, and Mahumet Aben Alhama, the third king of Granada, was made (7): yet as soon as the king D. Ferdinand saw his estate somewhat settled, it was broken: for the kings of Castile and Arragon met at Memeal in one thousand three hundred and nine: they concluded to make war against king Mahumet Aben Alhamar the blind: and although the conquest of Granada did not belong to Castile, yet a sixth part thereof was granted to the king of Arragon, who made preparation to besiege Almerý, whilst the king D. Ferdinand should besiege Algezira.

(6) Vid. Turquet's Hist. Spain.
Hist. Spain, Book XIII. p. 454.

(7) Lewis de Mayerne. Turquet. Gen.

The king of Granada being advertised of this plot, was much incensed against these princes, who had not kept their words; but especially against the king of Arragon, who had no interest to Granada, the division being made betwixt the ancient Christian kings, and by the pope's authority: Mahumet sent a good garrison to Algezira, and to all other places, attending the event of this war; which was begun by the king of Arragon, who sent some gallies in favour of Aborrabe the Moor, who was expelled, styling himself king of Almeriy, who besieged Ceuta in Africa, and took it by the means of these succours; at the same time the king of Arragon went and laid siege to Almeria; and he of Castile to Algezira.

The Moors incensed most against the Arragonians, went to the field on that side, and gave many routs and hindrances to them that held the siege, and to them that came to it.

Algezira being well furnished, defended itself so well, that the king D. Ferdinand finding the siege would be tedious, sent the archbishop of Seville, D. Alphonso Perez de Gusman, D. John Nugnes de Lara, with part of the army to Gibraltar; which place yielded, and the inhabitants and soldiers were transported into Africa, and their baggage in ships, which the king of Castile furnished according to agreement: for an old Moor being there, who complaining to the king of divers alterations to which he had been forced, all the people were resolved to pass into Africa, and not to live any longer in Spain. This Moor said unto the king: "I was an inhabitant of Seville, when thy great grandfather D. Ferdinand took it, from whence being expelled, I went to remain at Xeres, from thence D. Alphonso, thy grandfather, chased me; and I retired to Tarifa, which being taken by the king D. Sancho, thy father, I thought to live here in peace, from whence you dislodge me; therefore I will pass into Africa to spend the remainder of my days, with all the inhabitants

“ tants of this place, where we shall have no cause to fear the
“ Christians.”

The king D. Ferdinand being returned to Algezira, and seeking by all means possibly to force it; the Moors by commission from their king made an agreement with him, to yield unto him all the places taken in the former wars in Andalusia, and fifty thousand doubloons, so that he would raise the siege before Algezira. This agreement was made, when the king could do no more, on account of his army's sufferings, through the continual rain, and other accidents, so that many noblemen died; among whom was don Diego Lopes de Haro. During this war D. Alphonso Perez de Gusman died also in an encounter against the Moors, being shot through with an arrow: and these losses were increased by the retreat of don John of Castile, who carried many knights away with him, and by that means weakened the army: the king therefore resolved to receive the sum of gold already mentioned, with the places of Quesada, Bedmar, Quadros, and Chunquin.

Thus Algezira was delivered, and a truce made between the realms of Castile and Granada: but whereas the king don Ferdinand found himself in possession of those towns and a good sum of money, he did not care to keep his promise, but sent don Pedro, his brother, with the rest of the army to the castle of Tempul, near to Algezira, which he took, and then returned to Seville, where D. John Nugnes de Lara was newly arrived out of France, from pope Clement, of whom he had obtained permission for the king to take the tithes for the wars against the Moors: king Mahumet the blind was soon after deposed by his own brother Mahumet Azar Aben Lemin, being favoured by many great men, Moors, who were discontented to be governed by a blind king, who could not lead them to the wars in person.

The Moors of Spain had always a great affinity and intelligence with those of Africa: so we find, that Joseph Aben Jacob, the
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second king of the race of Merins, who in the year one thousand two hundred and ninety-one, was trying to pass into Spain, when the king of Castile took Tarifa from him: but being stopped by Benedict Zachary, admiral of Castile, he turned his designs against Alboacid, king of Tremessen, and his successor Boham.

The miramamolin of Africa, (which signifies the father of the faithful) Jacob Aben Joseph, took post at Algezira with great troops of horse, and he and Alphonso the eleventh had an interview at Zahara (8) in Granada, whereas he of Morocco arrived first. The manner of this interview was as follows: the king of the Moors caused a rich pavilion to be set up in the open field, under which were two seats made like thrones, one higher than the other, and more eminent. The chief of the noblemen of the family of the Merins (from whence the miramamolin was descended) were placed at the entry, and commanded to kiss D. Alphonso's feet; and not to suffer him to alight from his horse before he was near the pavilion, where being arrived, king Aben Joseph and he embraced one another like brethren, and so entered into the pavilion holding hands: the royal and magnificent ceremonies, which they used in their sitting down, were great and long, each striving to give more honourable place to the other: but in the end, the king of Castile was forced to sit in the highest; the king of Morocco saying: "It was reasonable that D. Alphonso, a king, descended from kings, and born of a king, should be set above, rather than himself, whom God, by his mercy, had advanced to that dignity but of late time."

But prior to these times, the confederate Moors and vassals of king D. Alphonso, the tenth of that name, called in Aben Joseph, the miramamolin of Africa, that they might not only shake off the Christians yoke, but also make a notable breach in the estates,

(8) Turquet. Gen. Hist. Spain, B. xii. p. 416.

of Leon and Castile, the king being absent, or at least they should seize upon Andalusia: the miramamolin Aben Mahomed the old, of the race of Almohades, being dead, after he had lost the battle of Muradal: his grandchild, called Caid Arrax, reigned, who was the son of Buxal, who died before his father Mahumet.

This Caid Arrax was the fifth king of Africa, of the race of Almohades, whose empire extended from the west ocean unto Egypt. There were many admirals or governours under him, ruling the provinces; among them was Gomoraça Aben Zein, of the lineage of Abdalues, who held the province of Tremesen; and behaving himself covetously and violently in his government, fell into disgrace with his king, Caid Arrax, by carrying himself rebelliously; which obliged the king to besiege him in a castle called Tremezezir, whereas a Moor, cousin to Gomoraça, going out of the fort, slew the Miramolin, when seeming to yield, and pointing out a place, where the castle might be taken. The army amazed at the death of their king, was instantly set upon by the garrison of Tremezezir, being led by Gomaraça, and put to flight, by which victory, the Moor appropriated that province unto himself, causing himself to be called king of Tremesen, and this was the beginning of that kingdom.

At the same time there was a family of Moors, in the city of Fez, called the Benaotazes and Merines, which descended from a famous Moor, called Merin, who had been a Christian, and became a Mahometan: the chief of this house, at that time, was called Bucar Aben Merin, and governed the city of Fez, under the miramamolin Caid Arrax; after whose death, and the defeat of his army by Gomaraça, before Tremezezir, this Bucar Aben Merin fell upon the Almohades, which had escaped and gathered themselves together about Fez, whom having routed, he took upon himself to be king of Fez, imitating that which his companion Gomaraça Aben Zein had done in Tremessen, and giving a beginning to this new kingdom.

A brother of his, called Jacob Aben Joseph, usurped (in the same troubles) the principality in Ribat: so as the estate of the Almohades reigning in Morocco, was then much decayed. These being advertised of the death of Caid Arrax, and of the tyrannies above named, presently advanced a kinsman of his to the royal seat; his name was Almorcada, who was the sixth miramamolin of the race of the Almohades: he was no sooner crowned king, but he took the field, to punish these rebels, who had stiled themselves kings in their governments. First he assailed Bucar Aben Merin, the new king of Fez, but he was repulsed and vanquished; so the race of Merins kept possession of Fez, and the territory in the plain country, or Algarve, as the Moors call it.

Bucar dying, his son Hiaja reigned after him, under the tutelage of Jacob Aben Joseph his uncle, being then very young, but he lived not long; wherefore Jacob Aben Joseph remained heir to the realm of Fez, and was much esteemed, and feared among the Moors, being called (as an honour) the old or elder of the Merins. This Moor's good fortune was not so bounded, for Budebuz, nephew to Almorcada, king of Morocco, rebelling against him, and retiring to Fez, gave him an occasion to get the realm of Morocco, and to join it unto Fez.

Budebuz intreated Jacob Aben Joseph to aid him against his uncle, promising to give all that he held of the realm of Fez unto the river Natab. Jacob Aben Joseph gave him succours, as Almorcada being amazed, durst not attend him within Morocco, but fled, being pursued by certain horsemen, which Budebuz sent after him, whom they overtook and slew, carrying his head to the king of Fez: whereby Budebuz became peaceable in his kingdom of Morocco, being the seventh and last king of the Almohades. Finding himself settled in his kingdom, he would have mocked Jacob Aben Joseph, who had helped him to attain this dignity, not caring to perform any promise, but threatened to take Fez from him, for which ingratitude, there began a cruel

war betwixt them, which continued three years, when it ended by the defeat and death of king Budebuz, slain in battle; whose estate Jacob Aben Joseph seized, putting an end to the reign of Almohades, and beginning that of the family of Merin in Africa, about one thousand two hundred and seventy.

It is this Jacob Aben Joseph, who sent one thousand light horse Arabians into Spain to Mahumet Alhamar, king of Granada, under the conduct of a captain with one eye, but of great authority: with whom D. Alphonso, the wise king of Castile, having not vouchsafed to treat of a truce, when he went into France to court the pope. Mir Almuz, who had succeeded in Granada, and he, conspired together, to the prejudice of Castile, and all the Christians in Spain: for this king of Granada being discontented with the agreements which he had made at his first entrance, in which he could not procure king Alphonso to abandon the captains of Malaga and Guadix his enemies; he found that these Moors who had been enemies to his father and him, would attempt something against his realm, and therefore he resolved, at what price soever, to ruin him: and as this engaged him in a war with the king of Castile, he therefore solicited Jacob Aben Joseph to undertake the enterprize of Spain, as his predecessors, kings of Arabia, had done, offering him the towns and ports of Algezira and of Tarifa for his descent; of which the miramamolin accepted, finding himself assured of his state, and mighty in men and arms: but it happened, that they of Malaga and Guadix, seeing that the truce, which they had with the king of Granada, was near expired, and doubting they should have war, and not be relieved by the forces of Castile, by reason of the king's absence, they held it the best course to reconcile themselves to the king of Granada, as in like manner the captain of Comares did, who was of the same league.

Notwithstanding the miramamolin having levied great forces to pass into Spain, he also sent some troops of Moors to receive the towns.

towns of Algezira and Tarifa, according to agreement, which were delivered to them. Soon after he arrived in person at Algezira, and afterwards passed over seventeen thousand horse. The two kings met in the country of Malaga, where they concluded to make war against the Christians; the African king towards Eecia, and he of Granada by Jaen: this passage was contrary to the expectation of the Christian princes, for the miramamolin, who could not make so great a levy of horse without knowledge, made a shew, as if he would go against one of his subjects, who had rebelled, and by strength took the town of Ceuta; and the better to dissemble the design, he had sent to intreat the king of Arragon to assist him in this war with ten gallies, and some ships of burden, with five hundred horse, to whom he promised good entertainment.

Don Ferdinand de la Cerde, viceroy and lieutenant general in Spain for his father, did not discover that these forces were prepared for Castile, until they had passed the Straits; being then at Burgos, he was informed of the league betwixt these Moorish kings, and of the reconciliation of them of Malaga and Guadix with the king of Granada, all which inconveniencies arose by the king's absence; wherefore, voluntarily, and at the instance of don Nugno de Lara, who was at Cordova, he made the speediest preparation he could, to oppose the violence of these infidels.

Don Nugno, knowing the miramamolin took the way of Eecia, drew near to that quarter, with such forces as he could muster together: but finding the passage stopped, he was forced to fight with the Moors, where, after a long action, he was defeated, and slain, yet most of his men which escaped, entered by night into Eecia.

The victorious Moors having found the body of Nugno, cut off his head, and sent it to Mahumet, king of Granada, who was glad of this victory, but very much discontented for the death of the earl don Nugno, who had been the cause of his reigning; wherefore he sent his head to Cordova to be buried with his body.

The like misfortune happened to don Sancho of Arragon, archbishop of Toledo, who having gathered together all the soldiers of Toledo, Guadalajara, Madrid, and Talavera, presented himself upon the frontier, where he encountered the king of Granada's army, invading the diocese of Jaen, where he was slain, and his army put to flight: his body, head, and hand, where he wore the pontifical ring, being separated, were recovered from the Moors, and carried to Toledo, where they were buried with great sorrow of all the people, taking it as a mournful presage of the affairs of Spain. D. Gonzalo, bishop of Burgos, succeeded him in this dignity, and was afterwards made a cardinal.

They write, that the archbishop don Sancho did not die fighting, but being taken, a debate arose between some captains of Moors, striving who should lead him to the miramamolin Jacob Aben Joseph, or to king Mahumet; when Aben Atar, governour of Malaga, arriving, and foreseeing some slaughter might follow among the Moors, he cast a dart at the archbishop, which pierced him through.

Upon the day of the defeat, D. Lopes Dias de Haro, lord of Biscay, arrived with a great army, and was joined with those that had retreated after the above action: they soon came to another engagement with the Moors, who received them courageously, so that neither army could boast of victory, when night parted them.

At this time, the infant D. Ferdinand, viceroy, died in Villareal, where he attended the rest of his forces, in order to go himself in person to this war: this prince finding himself near his end, recommended his eldest son D. Alphonso, an infant, to D. John Nugnes of Lara, eldest son to the earl D. Nugno, conjuring him to take the charge and guard of him, and of his right to the realm to succeed his grandfather don Alphonso the wise; which D. John Nugnes promised him, and being dead, he caused his body to be carried to Burgos, where it was buried in the monastery of Las Huelgas,

The

The miseries which ensued, brought the realm into great trouble; but the infant don Sancho, who had been sent back by king Alphonso from Perpignan, being informed of his brother's death, went with all speed to Villa-real, where he was received by his army, as lieutenant to the king his father. The miramamolin, not being able to take Ecija, and finding the Christian forces greatly augmented, he retired to Algezira and Tarifa; and seeming to himself he had done enough, and likewise the king of Granada, they resolved to make a truce for two years with the Christians, which being concluded, and sworn to, Jacob Aben Joseph, retired into Africa, holding still the towns of Algezira and Tarifa, where he left good stores and garrisons: and this was the success of this Arabian war, king don Alphonso being absent.

C H A P. VI.

OF SPAIN, ITS CLIMATE; OF ANDALUSIA; THE BATTLE OF SALADO, ALGEZIRA; AND ACTIONS BETWEEN THE MOORS AND CHRISTIANS, ETC.

THE form of Spain is supposed to be like unto an ox's hide stretched out (1); and the rump of the tail, the part I am treating of, upon the side of the Fretum Herculeum: it is divided from France by the Pyrenean hills, and from Afric by the narrow Straits of Gibraltar; it is therefore encompassed on all sides by the sea, except on the side of the Pyrenean mountains, which run from sea to sea, and expire in two promontories, one upon the ocean, or bay of Biscay, the other in the Mediterranean, which are the shoulders of the stretched hide, as the Pyreneans in the center is the neck, from whence the head may be allowed to have been struck off.

(1) Mar. Hist. Spain, p. 1, 2, 3.

The climate in Spain varies greatly, but the air on the Straits is not so intemperate and scorching as some have represented it (2); yet much hotter than in England, and those heats are tempered with cooling breezes and refreshing showers, which invigorate every thing that grows, and greatly conduces to the health and refreshment both of man and beast.

This province of Andalusia upon the Straits, was the Bætica of the Romans, and was comprehended in the Hispania Ulterior, or further Spain.

It is said, that Andalusia came from Vandalitia (3), houses of the Vandals, or rather the country where they lived: it is one of the best provinces in Spain, and so fruitful in corn, wine, and oil, that it is called the cellar and granary of Spain. It is likewise remarkable for being the most jealous (4) province; for which reason it is said, that Andalusia is the centre of jealousy.

From the forest of Andalusia the bulls are taken for those bull-fights at Madrid, which are performed on St. John's day; the bulls of Tarifa are the best.

The most furious are in Andalusia; and after the king has appointed a bull-feast, there are some cows, which they call mandarines, led into the forests and mountains of Andalusia; and as they are trained up for this purpose, so they run into the wood; the bulls spy them out, and eagerly court them; those fly, and these pursue them: and so are decoyed into certain pallisadoes, set on purpose along the way, which is sometimes thirty or forty miles in length; several men armed with half pikes, and well mounted, hunt these bulls, and hinder them from returning to the forest; but it is not seldom that they are forced to fight them within these pales, and frequently they are killed, or wounded.

(2) Brockwell's Nat. Hist. of Portugal. (3) The Curious Antiquary, by P. L. Berkenmeyer. (4) Lady's Travels into Spain, Vol. II. p. 56.

There are people placed all along the road, who bring advice when the bulls will arrive at Madrid; and there also they set palisadoes in the street, to prevent any mischief.

The Mandarinés, who are real traitors, go constantly before, and the poor bulls quietly follow after into the very place designed for baiting them, where there are great stables built on purpose, with shutters contrived to keep them in; there are sometimes thirty, forty, or fifty together; this stable has two doors, the Mandarinés go in at one, and escape at the other; and when the bulls think to follow them, still they are hindered by a trap, in which they are caught.

As I have mentioned the famous battle of Salado, and as the scene of action and disembarking the multitude of Africans was in Gibraltar bay, I think myself bound to relate that descent fully.

Abomelique being slain with ten thousand Moors, as is said (5), the lamentation was great in Africa, and they were stirred up with a thirst of revenge; great levies were therefore raised throughout all that empire, in order to invade Spain. King Alboacen being come to Ceuta in the beginning of one thousand three hundred and forty, with seventy gallies, and two hundred and fifty ships, with seventy thousand horse, and four hundred thousand foot. In the mean time king Alphonso, who was at Seville, was afflicted with the thoughts of making head against so great a multitude; another misfortune increased his trouble; D. Gonfalo Martínez, or Nunez, master of Calatrava, was impeached of several heinous crimes, and being summoned to appear and answer for himself, fled to the king of Granada. The king was also incensed against the admiral, and reproached him with cowardice and treachery, which he could not bear; and rashly went to sea from St. Lucar (6), with the few gallies he commanded, and appeared before

(5) Mar. Hist. Spain, Book xvi. c. vi. p. 261. (6) Turquet's Hist. Spain.

Algezira, provoking the Moors to action: they poured out in vast numbers from Algezira and Gibraltar, gave the admiral battle in the bay of Gibraltar, defeated and killed him, after an obstinate defence; and but five of his fleet could reach their port of Tarifa.

This action gave the Moors a free passage to transport their troops; five months they took to pass over the above multitude from the shore of the western ocean unto Egypt, as there was no king in that length of Africa, but was their subject, or strictly allied to Alboacen, being also instigated by their priests to arms, and enter upon immediate service: besides these gallies, those of Granada and Tunez joined, and they landed the men at Algezira and Gibraltar.

The king of Castile was much perplexed about the dangerous posture of affairs in Spain; he assembled all the prelates and nobility at Seville, where he was making preparations for the war, and laid before them the condition of the kingdom, &c. Some were desirous for making peace with the Moors at any rate; others opposed that opinion, since no peace could then be honourable or secure. This prevailing, the kings of Arragon and Portugal were solicited to join their forces with Castile: the fleet was then prepared at St. Lucar: the king of Arragon sent his fleet; and fifteen were purchased by the king of Castile from Genoa. The Portuguese sent twelve gallies: forces from all parts marched to Seville, where they heard of Alboacen, and the king of Granada had laid siege to Tarifa. They sat down before it on the twenty-third of September, and battered it furiously, applying great wooden towers to the walls for the greater terror. Though the garrison was numerous, it was feared they could not long hold out; here a council of war was held (7), to consult whether it was fit to fight the Moors, who besieged Tarifa, and were an innumerable multitude, or no; while some were of opinion to yield

(7) Emanuel de Faria y Sufa's Hist. Portug. B. III. c. ix. p. 226.

Tarifa to them, but the king of Portugal's opinion prevailed, that the place should be relieved. The king of Castile therefore gave them fresh assurance of relief, and provided for it with all possible diligence: forbidding (8) them expressly not to sally, for the loss of one man was more to him, than a hundred to Alboacen.

The king of Portugal had with him all the flower of his nobility, and the best soldiers of his country; his horse were but one thousand: more valuable, says Mariana, for their bravery than number; they both marched from Seville, where the rendezvous was, resolving to relieve Tarifa, or hazard a battle for it. The number of Christians was not to compare with the Moors, for they had but fourteen thousand horse and twenty-five thousand foot, yet with that force they marched to Tarifa. Alboacen had besides the great number of horse and foot which he brought out of Africa, the forces of Granada, consisting of seven thousand horse, and a vast body of foot.

The Moorish kings understanding the resolution of the Christian army, burnt their engines, and possessed themselves of certain hills near their camp. They intrenched, not believing the victory secure; but sent Albohamar, infant of Morocco, with two thousand horse to keep the passage of the river Salado, which runs between La Pena del Ciervo and Tarifa, which were defeated by a thousand horse, and four thousand foot, which the king of Castile had sent to fling themselves into Tarifa, and which they happily effected. These five thousand Christians had orders, that when they saw the armies engaged, to sally and flank the infidels upon the hills; the rest of the army was ordered to refresh themselves, and be ready for action at break of day. Great joy was among the Christians that night, they offered up their vows to heaven, and swore to stand by one another, and never to return home unless victorious.

(8) Turquet. Hist. Spain.

At break of day, the kings, and others by their example, received the holy communion, and then the army was drawn out. The standard of the Croisade was by the pope's order advanced, and all the soldiers wore a red cross on their breasts, in token they fought for the faith. The king of Portugal undertook to charge him of Granada, and had with him, besides his own people, the masters of Calatrava, and Alcantara. The king of Castile, just as the armies were ready to engage, encouraged his men; and then the signal being given, they moved towards the enemy. Between the two armies was a river called Salado, which not far from thence falls into the sea; from this river the battle took its name, and was ever called Salado.

Whoever first passed the river, seemed to have the advantage, therefore the Moorish king sent two thousand horse to guard the passage: mean while he not doubting of victory, rode among his battalions. Some of the Christians that arrived first at the river, made a stand; while others passing over a small bridge, entered first into engagement; but met with great resistance from bravery: however the Moors were repulsed, and the whole army of Christians got over. The king of Portugal marched on the left, along the hills, he of Castile taking a circuit by the shore, fell furiously on the enemy. Both sides rent the heavens with their cries, and being come to manual strokes, stood their ground without giving way, the generals causing the standards to be advanced, where there was the greatest danger. Certain bands of Christians, through by-ways, got to the enemies camp, which they plundered, having slain those that were left to guard it. They that fought, understanding what had happened, were dismayed, and soon after fled. A mighty slaughter of them was made, and a vast number taken; the Christians must also have sustained a proportionable loss, having to engage so great a multitude.

The routed Moors fled to Algezira, and there fearing a siege, the king of Granada withdrew to Marbella, Alboacen to Gibraltar, and

and that same night sailed over into Africa, fearing lest his son Abderhamen, hearing of his defeat, should rebel against him. In this battle, Fatima, daughter to the king of Tunez, Alboacen's chief wife, and three other of his wives, as also his son Abohamar, were taken: two other sons of his were killed. In the Moorish camp vast riches were found of all sorts, but particularly, so much gold and silver, that it caused the value of money to fall in Spain, and all commodities to rise. Our victorious kings returned at night to the camp: those that pursued the enemy came back, tired with killing, and such as loved profit more than honour, laden with plunder. Next day they furnished Tarifa with all necessaries, and ordered the breaches to be repaired. It had been expedient in that consternation of the Moors, to besiege Algezira, but the army being unprovided for a siege, provisions growing scarce, and winter drawing on, they returned to Seville: there they were received in triumph, and great rejoicing was throughout all Spain, with public thanksgivings. Great preparations were now making to drive the Moors out of all the country: and at the beginning of the year one thousand three hundred and forty-one, the army having rendezvoused at Cordova, entered the kingdom of Granada. Some ships were sent laden with provisions to divert the enemy, as though designed to besiege Malaga.

The Moors supplied that place with all necessaries, and the king on a sudden sat down before Alcalá la Real, which surrendered. After this, several other towns surrendered. Then the army was sent into winter quarters, leaving sufficient garrisons upon the frontiers.

All the king's thoughts were fixed upon besieging Algezira, and raising money: and the people agreed to the proposals: encouraged to grant the duty, by the news brought that the Moors had been defeated by sea.

At Ceuta, there were eighty-three galleys in order to renew the war; and twelve more in the port of Bullon: these last were de-

stroyed: afterwards the whole fleet of the infidels was overthrown at the mouth of the river, on the Straits of Gibraltar, called Guadameçil; after a very bloody engagement twenty-five gallies were taken and sunk, and both the admirals of Africa and Granada killed.

The gallies of Arragon were not in the action, but they fell in with thirteen gallies of the Moors, laden with provisions, near Estapona, about four leagues from Gibraltar; took four, sunk two, and the rest reached Africa. Both sea and land favoured the Christians.

The late successes made all things appear easy. The Spanish fleet was lying in the port of Xatarez, near Tarifa. Thither the king of Castile went to take a view of Algezira by sea; and laid his plan to take that fortress, as I have already related in the foregoing sheets.

Algezira, Tarifa, Gibraltar, and Malaga, were the inlets for the Moors into Spain; and consequently the same spirit to defend either of those places as to besiege, reigned reciprocally in each others breast alternately, as the chance of war situated those towns; and more particularly at the declension of the Moors in Spain: for before, they did not always keep so sufficient a garrison as they ought; for I find in the reign of D. Alphonso, the tenth of that name, king of Castile, took among other towns Algezira (9), but Mariana does not say how; however, to prevent the inquisitive reader the trouble of searching volumes, I must observe, that I cannot find in any author the particulars of this siege, which Mariana places in twelve hundred and fifty-nine: if so, the Christians must have soon lost that place: for in one thousand two hundred and seventy-five the king of Granada delivered both Algezira and Tarifa as cautionary towns to Jacob Aben Joseph, king of Morocco, who landed at the head of seventeen thousand

(9) Hist. Spain, B. XIII. c. vi. p. 213.

horse, and a vast number of foot: and that in one thousand two hundred and seventy-seven, the king of Morocco built another Algezira not far from the former, as some say (1): here Mariana seems diffident, as he can't account for the site or ruins of the second town, making no further mention of it: which is too often the case with geographers, in describing places they have never seen; I clear it up in this manner: there is a small rivulet, that turns a mill about a mile back from the bay, towards the high mountains that are partly bare, with deep hollows, clothed with vast trees of cork, a species of oak, this brook, from the feet of these mountains, glides to Algezira; and to sleep on or near its banks, is deemed excessive unwholesome, as the natives assured, by reason of the vast exhalations from the great attractive solar heat, which is very powerful here, basking, from its rising to almost its setting, on these branches of the Orespeda, a branch of the Pyreneans. These exhalations not having power to mount over these hills, condense with the evening's chill, and fall heavy upon its pristine bed; and this accounts for the great sickness the besiegers suffered, as I have already related. Upon one side of this rivulet, the Moors built a town, or castle, as people call it; and at this time the other was built, for they were two distant towns separated by the brook.

I also find, that king Alphonso the tenth of Castile, going from Burgos (2), and passing through the country of Leon, took his way to Seville, intending to wage war with the Moors, so that in one thousand two hundred and seventy-eight he laid siege to Algezira; which contained at that time but a very small garrison of the miramamolins of Africa; his son D. Pedro had the chief direction of the siege; but notwithstanding the place was pressed very hard both by sea and land, yet the Christians were not able to take it; and therefore had their labour for their pains: for the

(1) Book xiv. c. ii. p. 220.

(2) Turquet. Hist. Spain, B. xii. p. 414.

army at sea was, in a manner, lost by the ambushes of the Moors, who victualled the place; and as for that on land, there died so great a number of men, that they were forced to raise the siege, for the king of Morocco was upon his passage, and arrived at Algezira, where truce was revived, not comprehending the king of Granada, who fortified the city of Granada that year, and there made that famous fort, called the Alhambra, as stately a building as any in Spain. The captain of Malaga also revolted, and went under the protection of the king of Castile, and built two forts which defended that city, called Alcacava, and Gebralfaro.

Most of the rivers in Spain begin with Guada, which in Arabic, the language of the Moors, is river: Guadalquivir is pronounced in the Spanish tongue, Wadalkebeer, in Arabic, Weit el kibeer, which signifies the great river, anciently called the Bætis, Weit, or Weid, being no more than river.

Guadalajara, or Guadalaxara, pronounced in Spanish, Wadalakhara; in Arabic, Weit el Hadjar, the sorry river: Jarra and Jarro: Xarra and Xarro, as written in Spanish, and pronounced in that language Kharra and Kharro, which, in English, signifies a jar or pitcher, pronounced by the Moors Jarra and Jarro.

Guadaladiar, in Spanish, Wadalidiar; in Arabic, Weit el deyer, the river of houses.

Guadalcacar, in Spanish, pronounced Wadalcaffar; in Arabic, Weit el cassur, the river of palaces.

Guadalete, Wadalete, Weit Lethe, the river of Lethe, anciently so called.

Guadalimar, Wadalimar, Weit el hamar, the red river, anciently Salsus.

Guadalmedina, Wadalmedina, Weit el Medina, the river of the city.

Guadalquilon, Wadalkiton, Weit el Gutta, or rather Weit el Kotton, there being rivers of that name in Asia and Africa;
the

the river of the cat, if the first; if the other, the river of cotton.

Guadazuléma, Wadasulema, Weit Suliman, Solomon's river.

Guadiaro, the river of houses, and Guadارانque at Carteia in Gibraltar bay, the river of mares; the former so called on account of the many dwellings once upon its pleasant banks; and the latter on account of the many mares upon its pasture, when the Moors invaded Spain.

Spain, as Mariana justly observes, has few rivers, and less lakes; and indeed but few rivers any ways navigable, but for boats.

C H A P. VII.

SPAIN'S ANTIQUITY, LANGUAGE, PEOPLE; OF GERYON, HERCULES, AND OTHERS; OF THE ANTIQUITY OF AFRICA; THE PILLARS OF HERCULES, ETC.

I MUST carry my reader back again, to the remote antiquities of the Spaniards: the Celtiberi (1), a great part of the Spaniards, came from the Celtæ, but supposed later: for it is credible, that anciently the Iberi themselves were descended of the Celtæ, the Vascones perhaps excepted, and the people of affinity with them: for the language of the Vascones is said to differ surprisingly from all the European languages, nor is there any other found, to which it has an affinity. Shall we, says this book, say, that Spain was inhabited by a colony of Africans before the arrival of the Celtæ, and that the Vascones were the remains of them? or rather that some ancient nation of a former migration (before the arrival of the nations from which sprung the Celtæ, that is, the Germans and Gauls) possessed not only Spain, but Aquitain, and all the neighbouring parts; and this is favoured by the common

(1) *Acta Germanica*, or Literary Memoirs.

names of rivers. Cæsar has distinguished three Gauls, viz. the Aquitanic, Celtic, and Belgic, where it appears, that the name Celtæ is taken in the strictest sense; and I should think, continues this author, that it properly agreed to the inhabitants of the Celtic Gaul, and afterwards taken in so large a sense by the Greeks that went partly to Marseilles, and partly to the Ister, that upon observing a certain similitude in their manners and language, it comprized all the west, which was unknown to the Ancients: for formerly the Greeks called the western people, whom they knew not, Celtæ; the northern, Scythians; the eastern, Indians; the southern, Ethiopians, denominating the remoter people from the nearer: and Herodotus has sufficiently shewn, (though he varies from himself) that the Scythians were a peculiar, and no very extensive nation, which gave name to the nations of that tract, and was no less unknown to the Greeks in Homer's time than was that of the Celtæ.

When the Tyrian Hercules came into Spain, about the days of Abraham, he found the country about the Straits' mouth inhabited, he landed there, and killed the three Geryons.

Geryon and his followers most probably crossed over the narrow Straits from Ceuta to Spain, in small barks: for Geryon is, as much as to say, a stranger (2). He is said to have been a wicked and vicious man, and that he came out of Africa into Spain (3), and that his name in the Chaldean tongue signifies a stranger, and with him went others. This Geryon was the father of those three that the Phœnician Hercules slew.

Mariana (4) tells us, that Geryon was the first that may be accounted king of Spain, and of whom much mention is made by the Greek and Latin authors: he was no native, for Geryon in the Chaldean language signifies a stranger; and that he is said to have built a fort near Cadiz, called Gerunda: that he was killed by

(2) Richer's Abridg. Hist. Spain, p. 7. (3) Em. Fa. y Sufa's Hist. Port. p. 4. (4) Book I. chap. iii. p. 6, 7.

Osiris the Egyptian, and buried near the mouth of the Straits: that after this, Hercules came into Spain, and drove the Geryons into the island of Cadiz, where they fortified themselves: that he fought the three Geryons and slew them: that their bodies were buried upon that island, and from thence forward it was called Erythræa by some people that came with Hercules from the red sea, who, with the approbation of their general Hercules, planted there.

After these things, Hercules died, and was buried in the Gadi-rian isle. He was a great navigator, and being a Tyrian, was probably the first that made long voyages; for as Tibullus says,

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyrus;

Tyre first taught to entrust a ship to the boisterous winds. The Tyrians were great merchants, navigators, and planters of endless colonies in foreign parts: as they were merchants, they may be said to have engrossed all the commerce of the western world, at least (5) as navigators, they were the boldest, and most experienced, and greatest discoverers of the ancient times: they had, for many ages, no rivals: and as they were planters of colonies, they did so much that way, that, when it is remembered, that their country was probably little more than the slip of ground between mount Libanus and the sea, it is surprising how they could furnish such supplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native country. They were the most industrious and enterprising people, that can well be conceived.

Africa was peopled in the most early ages, I do suppose before Spain, both Atlas and Antæus reigned in the western parts of Africa, before Geryon's descent; and there are authors who say, that one of the three first cities in the world was Sebta (or Ceuta) (6) a maritime town in Africa (on the coast of Barbary)

(5) Univ. Hist. Vol. II. Book I. c. vi. p. 348. (6) Idem, Vol. I. Book I. c. ii. p. 277. n. Z.

Salernum in Italy, and Salem in Judea. There are ruins of two ancient towns now to be seen at, or very near to Ceuta; the walls of one with many square towers, incircle the highest mountain of Ceuta, and within this ruin, upon the summit of the hill, the Spaniards have a signal house, and a guard house a little below to relieve the signal centinel.

The other town, which seems to be the most ancient, is in Barbary, by the Moors intrenchments before Ceuta; between mountains, most of the old walls and towers may be traced, and this I take to be the town, which is imagined to be one of the three first in the world.

Besides, the country of Spain took its name from the Phœnicians, who, upon their landing, saw a vast quantity of rabbits, which they took for a small quadruped (7) of their own land called Spaneja, resembling a rabbit. Spain produced such multitudes, that that animal was accounted peculiar to that country. Catullus gives the epithet Cuniculosa to Celtiberia, and the Balearic isles adjoining were so much infested with that vermin, that they sued to Augustus for soldiers to destroy them.

Mr. Addison gives us, in his third series, a reverse of the emperor Adrian: a female figure sitting on the ground, in her right hand she holds a sprig of olive, her left arm is on a rock, her garment on her lap represents the Tagus, and the rabbit sits upon her foot; the Legend Hispania, and s. c. in exergue. The learned medallists, says this gentleman, tell us the rabbit, which you see before her feet, may signify either the great multitude of these animals, that are found in Spain, or perhaps the several mines that are wrought within the bowels of that country, the Latin word cuniculus signifying either a rabbit or a mine: but these gentlemen do not consider, that it is not the word, but the figure that appears on the medal: cuniculus may stand for a

(7) Univ. Hist. and Sammes's Britannia.

rabbit or a mine, but the picture of a rabbit is not the picture of a mine: a pun can be no more engraven than it can be translated. When the word is construed into its idea, the double meaning vanishes: the figure therefore means a real rabbit, which is there found in vast multitudes.

Cuniculosæ Celtiberiæ fili. Catul. in Egnatium.

The olive-branch tells us, it is a country that abounds in olives, as it is for this reason that Claudian, in his description of Spain, binds an olive-branch about her head.

Thus Spain, whose brows the olive wreath infold,
And o'er her robe a Tagus streams in gold.

Martial has given us the like figure of one of the greatest rivers in Spain.

Fair Bætis! olives wreath thy azure locks;
In fleecy gold thou cloth'st the neighb'ring flocks:
Thy fruitful banks with rival bounty smile,
While Bacchus wine bestows, and Pallas oil.

The pillars of Hercules, in the days of that hero, were two of stones, the same as at Tyre; for Hercules ordered that famous city to be built, where the Petræ Ambrosiæ stood, which were two moveable rocks, standing by an olive tree. He used to sacrifice on them, implying that they should become fixed and stable: rather, says Dr. Stukeley, that the city should be built with happy auspices, and become permanent.

Here are our main ambres made artfully moveable, a kind of altars, or pillars, the same as the pillars of Hercules so famed, and as little understood: they were the original patriarchal altars for libations and sacrifices, and mean in general their altars, whether moveable or immoveable: or, as we may speak, continues this learned antiquarian, their temples, which imply an

altar properly inclosed with stones and a ditch, or ground dedicated, and set apart for public celebration of religious rites: for the word ambrosius means in general, consecrated, dedicated to religious use.

Besides the *Petræ Ambrosiæ* of Tyre, and our main ambres of Britain and Ireland, we meet with others: now, the main ambres, or *Petræ Ambrosiæ*, signified the stones anointed with holy oil, the oil of roses, consecrated; or, in a general sense, a temple, altar, or place of worship.

The pillars, then, were on a religious account; patriarchal, as that of Jacob's: and Moses's altar, with twelve pillars set round it, &c. &c. &c.

The Tyrian Hercules, who built and set up the *Petræ Ambrosiæ*, lived as early as the time of Jacob's anointing the stone at Bethel. The great Bochart, who penetrated very deep into the Phœnician learning, looks upon it as a clear matter, that in Joshua's time, the Phœnicians sent innumerable colonies into the Mediterranean coasts, and even to the ocean. In his preface to his admirable work *Canaan*, he says, "He has a great suspicion, " that colonies went abroad this way before that time: particularly he asserts, that Hercules in Eusebius, surnamed Desanus, " who was famous in Phœnicia before the Exodus, is the same, " who conquered Antæus in Africa: which in Eusebius is set fifty- " six years before: he is called Hercules primus, and that is sixty- " three years before the Exodus, in Eusebius's chronology." Again, he judges it to be two thousand years distance between the later Roman times, and the first Hercules: now from Constantine the Great, two thousand years carry us up to Jacob's time: and he proves from Aristotle de *Mirabilibus*, that Hercules built Utica in Africa, at that time, wherein Eusebius says, he was famous in Phœnicia, and this must be when Hercules was old, he having conquered Antæus in that country, when he was young.

Let

Let it suffice, that he lived about Abraham's days, that he founded Carteia in Gibraltar bay; that afterwards he erected the two pillars on the isle of Cales; and there established the patriarchal religion: and those were the pillars of Hercules, and his *Ne plus ultra*. The Greeks and Latins in after ages, not understanding the meaning of those pillars, and being strangers to the primitive tenets of the Phœnician religion, invented the fabulous story of Calpe and Abyla.

Osiris, the Egyptian, defeated Geryon's forces, who not long before crossed over from Africa into Spain; he slew him in the battle fought near Tarifa, and was the first battle in Spain, or I believe in Europe. The old Geryon was buried in the isle Gadir: and years after this, Hercules was buried there also, long after he had killed the three brothers, sons of the old Geryon: for between that exploit and his death, he established the mart at Gadir, for Tyre and the Barac-Anacks receiving there the commodities of Britain and the east.

The temple of Hercules was built long after his death, covered and inclosing the pillars within the walls, in imitation of Tyre. Temples originally were pillars, altars, and circles of stones, as at Stone-henge (8), &c. &c. &c.

I think the great king Hiram was the first of the Tyrians, who closed their temples; yet he, in the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter. He also built two temples, one to Hercules, and another to Astarte, and beautified them with rich donatives. Hiram was rather a religious prince, than a warlike one. He died in one thousand and twelve before Christ, after a reign of thirty-four years.

After this, Pygmalion sent to the temple of Hercules, standing in the island of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of massy gold, and of most exquisite and curious work-

(8) Vid. Stukeley. Cook. Norden. Borlase. Camden. &c. &c. &c.

manship, its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderful resemblance with the natural fruit of that tree (9).

Hercules, or Melcartus, was the great and ancient god of Tyre: they anciently represented him in no form: his temple had no images in it, a seeming undeniable instance of his great antiquity. However, they deviated afterwards from this laudable custom.

The Gadirans had hardly fallen into idolatry in Hiram's reign; but after this, they sunk apace: for in this temple, they had the twelve labours of Hercules, the Hydra, and Diomedes's horses; with the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit, and by these consecrated gifts of Teucer, king of Troy, and Pygmalion, king of Tyre, you may know that it was built in their days, says Sir Isaac Newton.

The Carthaginians paid tenths to Hercules, and sent their payments yearly to Tyre.

In Solomon's time, Erythræa, and the country of Geryon were without the Mediterranean; therefore the Erythræan, or Gadirian isle, was peopled by Erythræans or Edomites before Solomon's time, perhaps when David dispersed the Edomites.

Hercules, called Melicartus, was king, prince, governour, or rather founder of Carteia, and had the temple of Gadira consecrated to him after Hiram's days, and was worshipped after and according to the rites and ceremonies of the ancient people of Tyre.

The worship of Hercules was carried to Gades by Dido.

After the death of Antæus, a Phœnician colony was settled at Tangiers, or ancient Tingis.

Hercules landing in the Scilly isles and Cornwall, was the first that discovered the tin, and settled a colony and trade to the Gadirian isle.

(9) Univ. Hist. Vol. II. Book I. c. v. p. 371.

He was worshipped, after his death, in Gaul, Britain, and Germany, by the name of Ogmius and Hesus. He built several cities on the Straits. Carteia was, I believe, the most ancient in Europe, and called Heraclea, in honour to the founder; and Calpe Carteia, on account of its proximity to Mons Calpe.

Neptune was also a tutelar deity of Carteia, and called Equestris: for horses originally came from Libya.

Hercules was a man of a very extraordinary genius, and of great piety: therefore, wherever he went, he set up patriarchal temples, pillars of stone, the same as the patriarchal families did in the land of Canaan. In short, our hero truly so called, was a true believer, and established the worship of the ever living God wherever he sojourned, making it his business to check proud tyrants, by destroying those he found, taking their country under his immediate care and protection; clearing the lands of monstrous idolatries, and setting up his pillars for pure libations, as the Ne plus ultra of all religion then upon the earth, being a folly to go beyond those pillars in search of new doctrines, or new gods.

He carried with him the arts, sciences, and industry; he had with him the compass-box, which enabled him to sail upon the great ocean, which was the sea-concha, or shell of Lucian. The cup lent him by Oceanus of Pisander: the golden cup given him by Sol: so the learned Dr. Gale. The cup of Nereus, son of Sol, which Hercules begged, and sailed to Erythræa, by Panyasis, by Macrobius, by Theoclytus in Athenæus, by Pherecydes, by Servius, by Alexander Ephesius, the Lapis Heraclius. For this, and other of his great actions, the Phœnicians and almost all other nations deified and worshipped him after his death; and among the many oracles in Egypt, one was of Hercules.

Crediting the Phœnician history, and allowing Cronus to have been Ham, the desire of rule began to make havock in the world, even during the life time of Noah, who was driven out of his settlement,

tlement, and at last slain by his rebellious son, as is recorded in the history of Sanchoniatho.

Uranus, who was Noah, succeeded his father Elum in the kingdom: he had by his sister, whose name was Ge, four sons, Ilus or Cronus, who was Ham; second, Betylus; third, Dagon, or Siton; fourth, Atlas; besides much issue by other wives: wherefore Ge being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached Uranus (Noah) so that they parted from each other: but Uranus, though he parted from her, yet by force invaded her, and lying with her when he would, went away again; and he also attempted to kill the children he had by her. Ge also defended, or avenged herself, gathering auxiliary powers unto her.

But when Cronus, (Ham) the son of Ge, sister and wife of Uranus (Noah) came to man's age, using Hermes Trismegistus as his counsellor and assistant (for he was his secretary) he opposed his father Uranus, avenging the wrongs of his mother: but Cronus had children, Persephone (Proserpine), and Athena (Minerva); the former died a virgin, but by the council of Athena and of Hermes, Cronus made of iron a scymitar and a spear.

Then Hermes speaking to the assistance of Cronus with enchanting words, wrought in them a keen desire of fighting against Uranus in behalf of the injured wife Ge, Cronus's mother.

Cronus then warred against Uranus, and drove him out of his kingdom, and succeeded him in the imperial power, or office.

In the fight was taken a well-beloved concubine of Uranus, big with child. This concubine Cronus gave in marriage to Dagon, after which, she brought forth, at his house, what she had in her womb by Uranus, and called the infant Demaroon.

After these things, Cronus builds a wall round about his house, and founds Byblus, the first city in Phœnicia, i. e. the first city of Phœnice built either with masonry or brick: for Tyre had inhabitants before this time, who lived in huts and tents.

At

At length, when the child Demaroon grew to the age of man, he had a son born to him, who was the Melacartus, who is called Hercules, whose temple at Gadir or Gades had no images in it, and continued so to the time of Silius Italicus.

He was the great and ancient god of Tyre; he was called Melcartus, as has been already said, from Melec-cartha, the king of the ancient city of Carteia (Heraclea, or Calpe Carteia) near Mount Calpe: and Sir Isaac Newton derives his name from Melec, king, and Cartha, the city; i. e. of Carteia in Spain.

He was anciently represented in no form; neither had his temple at Gades any images in it, a seeming undeniable instance of his great antiquity: however, they deviated from this laudable custom.

Although no statues were in the temple at Gadir, either to the Egyptian or Tyrian Hercules, for they were both worshipped in the same temple, as we are informed from Philostratus, who says, there were only two plain brazen altars erected to the Egyptian Hercules.

But though the gods were unrepresented, their temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules (as they are commonly called;) finely wrought, the Hydra, and Diomedes's horse. In this temple were also kept the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit of wonderful workmanship.

Great honours were paid to him, and his worship was performed with great solemnity. Silius Italicus (1) says, the worship to Hercules was performed with great solemnity, the assistants were clad alike in Egyptian linen, they offered incense to him with a loose flowing garment, and the priestly vest was adorned with red streaks or stripes of purple.

(1) Lib. III.

The Calpeian mountain, and bay of Gibraltar, were not only known, but also frequented so early as the days of Abraham; and Carteia in the bottom of that bay, and on the bank of the small river Guadarranque, was the ancient port, built by the Phœnicians, who were Canaanites by descent. This port was, if Hercules was king of that city, prince, or founder, as Sir Isaac Newton conjectured, more ancient than Cadiz: and the bay of Gibraltar has ever been famous, from the earliest account of time, for its friendly aid to all vessels either going up the Mediterranean, or into the Atlantic ocean; and is in fact the key to the former. It must be remembered, that the dwellers of this part of Spain are to look to those of the honourable profession of arms as their founders and inhabitants, from Hercules downwards: or if you will, the three Geryons, whom he slew. The Phœnician adventurers were soldiers, the Carthaginians the same, and the Roman colony planted in Carteia, were from Roman soldiers, and Spanish mothers, i. e. Carteians, Carthaginians, or the remains of the Bastulians, Lybians, the Phœnicians. The Goths were soldiers, and the Moors who built Algezira and Gibraltar from the materials of the demolished city of Carteia, were also military men, who had just conquered almost all Spain in an amazing short space of time. When Algezira was wrested out of their hands, Alonzo gave that town and the adjacent country to his soldiers, as a reward for their gallant behaviour, and persevering services, in the reduction of that strong city, as has been above related. The Spaniards have ever since kept possession of that place; which at present makes but a sorry appearance. After Gibraltar was taken by the English, the Spaniards built the town of St. Roca, a military station, and the head quarters of the Spanish commanders for that district: and every one knows, that the fortress of Gibraltar, principally consists of military men, as shall be further explained in the course of this work.

It is certain, that this country of Spain, and more particularly this very part of it on the Straits' mouth, was not only excellently situated for trade and commerce, but also abounded with such commodities, especially silver, and more particularly in this province of Andalusia, as invited all the trading nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa, to come thither for them, to settle among them, and even to subdue them, inasmuch that scarce any kingdom under heaven ever passed through so many different kingdoms as this, as the Maurusians, Phœnicians, Tyrians, Egyptians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Goths, Vandals, Moors, and many others have had their particular settlements in it, or at least some considerable share of it, under their subjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it.

From what I am able to judge of its very ancient state, I conclude upon the whole, that the Geryons, after their father had been defeated by Antæus in Africa, to have been the first inhabitants, with some Maurusian followers, the descendants from the line of Ham, the progenitor of the Canaanites: and, that after Hercules had defeated Antæus, he landed with his Phœnicians, overcame the Geryons, and built Carteia, and sailed to Gadir, now Cadiz: so that I give no attention to the fabulous line of princes given by Berosus, who must not be credited, in his long list, from Tubal, the grandson of Noah, down to Geryon; but here I think we may digress, as there are many corroborating circumstances to favour my opinion.

The reverend Dr. Clarke gives us very judicious remarks of the marquis de Mondecar upon the Spanish historians, which, says he, are new, and not commonly to be met with, and from which he gives the following extract (2).

(2) Clarke's Spanish Nation. Historical Introduction.

“ The Roman empire in this country lasted something more
“ than four hundred years after the commencement of the Chris-
“ tian æra : but the Spanish history is connected with the Roman
“ for near six hundred, till that empire was utterly extinct. The
“ Goths entered about the year four hundred : Himeric, with the
“ Suevi and Alans, conquered Galicia about the year four hun-
“ dred and eight. These Suevi, who gave name to Galicia, sub-
“ dued Portugal about four hundred and sixty-four. Requina,
“ the son of Himeric, conquered Biscay, Andalusia, and took Sa-
“ ragosa and Tarragona in four hundred and eighty-eight. Re-
“ caredo was king of Spain in five hundred and eighty-seven,
“ and called a cortes, at which, prelates, as well as secular lords,
“ assisted, and granted aids to the crown. After him came Wit-
“ teric, to whom succeeded Gundemar, in six hundred and ten.
“ In six hundred and thirty-one, Sisenando was chosen king, who
“ called a cortes at Toledo.”

The Moors entered Spain about the year six hundred and eighty, consequently the Gothic government did not last three hundred years. Tarif Abenzarca came in seven hundred and thirteen.

The three most principal northern nations which came here, were the Vandals, from whom the province of Andalusia received its name ; these went afterwards into Africa. The Suevi, who remained long in Galicia, and the Goths, who conquered the whole country, and held it upwards of two hundred years. The Goths possessed the whole continent of Spain, Mauritania, Africa, and Gallia Gothica, or that part of France which is now corruptly called Languedoc : but in their turn they gave place to the Moors and Arabs, whose dominion ceased, when Pelayo was established in his throne. The Moors conquered all Spain, except those mountainous parts, whither some bodies of resolute Christians fled for refuge. They by degrees planned and concerted measures to
shake

shake off the Arabic yoke. The first stand that was made against them, was made by the mountaineers of Asturias, who elected king the infant don Pelayo, swearing the nobles over a shield, and crying out real! real!

This Pelayo was a Gothic prince by birth, so that he in some measure restored again the Gothic monarchy: he recovered Gijon and Leon; and his son got possession of part of Portugal, and all Galicia. From this recovery of Leon came the race of the kings of Oviedo and Leon. The boldness and success of these Christians alarmed the Arabs, they attacked them in their different strongholds, in order to cut off their communications one with another: but this produced a very different effect from what they expected. The Christians, to repel the danger that threatened them on every side at the same time, chose different heads in different places, who being separate one from the other in their governments, defended their subjects independently on one another. This necessary resolution gave rise to the different kingdoms in Spain. Such then was their undoubted origin, though it is impossible to say at what exact period each kingdom rose, as there are no ancient monuments remaining sufficient to prove that point.

The first kingdom or monarchy that rose, after the Moorish invasion, was that, as we have said, of don Pelayo in the Asturias, an elective monarchy: and in proportion as the Asturian princes dislodged the pagans of those lands and territories that were nearest to them, they changed the stile of their titles, being first called kings of Asturias, then of Oviedo, and lastly of Leon and Galicia, until they were incorporated with the kings of Castile by the marriage of queen donna Sancha Isabella, sister of king don Bermudo the third, its last prince, both of them descendents of king don Alonzo the fifth, who married the daughter of Ferdinand the great, to whom some give the title of emperour, and who was first king of Castile.

Of

Of this long period, in which the Christian princes gained such glorious successes, and singular victories over the infidels there are some short and obscure accounts in the little chronicles of don Alonzo the third, king of Leon, surnamed the Great, and of Alveda, of Sampiro, and of don Pelayo.

COUNTS AND KINGS OF CASTILE.

At the same time with these Asturian princes, arose many nobles, who signed their deeds and instruments with the titles of counts or princes, and among others, those of Castile, which state arrived at sovereignty in the time of the great count Fernan Gonzalez, by his heroic valour, glorious triumphs, and extended power. The most distinguished prince of this house was don Sancho Garcia, whose violent death was the cause why this house united itself to the crown of Arragon and Navarre, by the marriage of the princess donna Sancha his sister, with the king don Sancho Mayor, whose second son don Fernando raised Castile into a kingdom. Castile afterwards became an hereditary crown in his lineage, in preference to all the other kingdoms, although inferior in origin to Arragon and Navarre.

The series and chronology of the several counts is much contested between the Spanish writers, Arredondo, Arevalo, Sandoval, and others: a dispute not worth our entering into, since it is certain, that from the bravery, success, and power, with which don Fernando extended his dominion, so as to be stiled first king of Castile, his kingdom became so famous, that all the Moorish princes acknowledged him for their sovereign. His son was don Alonzo the sixth, his grand-daughter was the queen donna Urraca, with whom ended the barony of Navarre: the crown of Castile falling back again into the house of the counts of Burgundy (who came from the kings of Italy) by her marriage with the count don Raymund, her first husband; from which match came their son the great emperor don Alonzo the seventh.

This

This prince left his estates divided between his two sons: to don Sancho the eldest, whose great virtues and untimely death gained him the name of the Regretted, he left the kingdoms of Castile, and part of Leon: and to don Ferdinand the second, the rest of Leon, Galicia, and Asturias. He took upon himself the title of king of Spain, pretending, that the primogeniture of the Goths, which was re-established in Pelayo, centered in himself.

Don Sancho dying, he was succeeded by don Alonzo the Noble, one of the greatest princes of his time. It was he, who gained the famous battle of the plains of Tolosa over the Moors, destroying two hundred thousand of them at one time. He dying without issue male, the two kingdoms of Castile and Toledo went to donna Berenguela, his eldest daughter.

Although the royal barony of Burgundy ended in the queen donna Berenguela, it returned and united with the kingdom of Leon, Galicia, and Asturias by the marriage of king don Alonzo her uncle, (who succeeded in those kingdoms to king Fernando, brother to king don Alonzo the Noble, her grandfather) from which match came king Sn. Fernando, from whom descended, without interruption, the kings of Castile and Arragon; and until united in Ferdinand and Isabella, they relapsed into the august house of Austria, by the marriage of the queen donna Juana, their eldest daughter, to the archduke don Philip the first, from which great union sprung the emperor Charles the fifth.

From this period downward, the Spanish history is very connectedly written, and well known.

This part of Spain is surrounded by the Mediterranean, the Sinus Gaditanus, or bay Gadez; the Fretum Herculeum, or Straits of Gibraltar; and the southernmost point in Spain, is that of Tarifa in 50° 50' north latitude.

The generality of the Greek writers call Spain *Ιβηρία*, Iberia, which, by the Ancients who lived before Polybius, by Iberia understood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe,

Calpe, or the Straits of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst the Greeks and Romans.

As the Iberus was by far the most considerable river of this tract, it might, say my authors, have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt, according to some, did its name from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called Egyptus: but the true and proper Iberia, is thought to have been originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celts settling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; which if admitted, it is no wonder that the Phœnicians gave it the name of Iberia: for the Hebrew עבר Eber, as well as the Chaldee, Syriac, or Phœnician עברא Ebra, or Ibra, in the singular number, which signifies a passage, and, in the plural, bounds or limits. The Phœnicians, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, Eber, Iber, Ebra, &c. and from thence have stiled the inhabitants of it Iberians; or have denominated the tract itself Iberia, from its situation, it having been generally considered by them, as one of the remotest regions, or western limits of the earth.

Spain took its name most probably from the Phœnician שפניה Sphanija, or Spanija, from שפן Shaphan, or Span, a rabbit, because it abounded with those animals. In support of this notion, it may be observed, that, in many manuscripts of Curtius, Justin, Capella, Apuleius, Julius Capitolinus, Athenæus, &c. for Hispania is found Spania, as is learnt from Casaubon and Salmasius; from the Phœnician Spanija, the Romans deduced their Spania, or Hispania, which appellation, as well as Iberia, in common with the Greeks, they applied to the whole continent of Spain.

When the Phœnicians first landed, and seeing such vast numbers of rabbits, which upon the testimony of Ælian, Pliny, Strabo, and Varro, increased to so surprising a degree, as to do immense damage

damage by their burrows, they took them for the Saphan of the Phœnicians; and did from thence impose upon this country a name, which has ever since prevailed. Spain was also called Hesperia, and Hesperia Ultra, on account of its western situation; however there were two Hesperias, to wit, the great which was Italy, and the less which was Spain, which were likewise distinguished into citerior and ulterior, or the nearer and the further.

It is most probable, that this part of Spain was first peopled in this manner, a colony of Mauritanians, whom the Phœnicians found about the Straits' mouth, under the three Geryons conquered by Hercules, who built Carteia and Cadiz, as a central mart to Tyre, Sidon, and other towns in the Mediterranean, the coast of Africa and the British isles, and these were the ancient Bastulians. The Carthaginians, who were Phœnicians by descent, most undoubtedly settled along the Mediterranean, and the Straits to Cadiz, &c. The Greeks had some colonies in Spain, and the Romans settled themselves, in process of time, all over the country; their first division, or rather that part they had reduced, was into Hispania Citerior, and Hispania Ulterior. In Augustus's reign, he divided Hispania Ulterior into two provinces, to wit, Provincia Bætica, and Lusitania. The Turditani, who were a powerful people, occupied a considerable part both of Lusitania and Bætica, as appears from Strabo.

It is only to the province of Bætica which I shall confine myself, and to that part particularly from Cales to Malaga: and the opposite coast of Barbary.

Hispania Ulterior, or Further Spain, was Bætica, so called from the famed river Bætis, since Tartessus, and now Gualalquiver, or the Great River; it was bounded on the south by the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Gaditanus, or gulph of Gades; and on the north by the Cantabric sea, now the sea of Biscay. The Bætis divided this province into two parts; on the one side towards the Anas, were situated the Turditani, from whence the country was

called Turditania, but better known by the name of Bæturia. On the other side, and of which I am now treating, were the Bastuli, then the Bastitani, and Contestani, along the Mediterranean coasts, to the eastward.

But the Bastuli are the people within my district; they are justly supposed (as I have already said) to be of Phœnician or Libyan extract, and extended from the Straits of Gibraltar, along the Mediterranean coast to the Bastitani, till driven from thence by the Moors, they fled into the mountainous part of Galicia, which they then called by their name Bastulia.

This province was the most fertile, best cultivated, and pleafantest of all the rest in Spain, as Pliny writes. The Romans had four tribunals, or, as they stiled them, *Conventus Juridici*, to wit, 1. Gadez, now Cadiz; 2. Cordova; 3. Astigi, now Ecija; 4. Hispal, now Seville: they had besides, about one hundred and thirty cities, among which nine were stiled colonies; eighteen municipal; twenty-nine which enjoyed the franchise of *Latium*; six free cities; three allied ones; and one hundred and twenty tributary (3). The four above named cities were famed for their courts of judicature: nor shall I mention any more of Tartessus, Hispal, Seville, the *Colonia Romulensis*, and, by some inscriptions, *Colonia Romulea*: Corduba, the *aurifera terra*: but must dwell a little on the city of Gades or Gadir, now Cadiz.

Cadiz was peopled by Phœnicians, under Melec-cartha, Hercules; after he had built Carteia, as I conjecture. I shall only here observe, that the first Carthaginian settlement in this country preceded not only the reigns of Xerxes and Darius, but even that of Cyrus himself. The neighbouring Spaniards, finding this city beginning to flourish, attacked it with all their forces, insomuch that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the Carthaginians to their aid: for the Celtiberi had extended, by migration and

(3) Vid. Briet. Parallel. Part II. Lib. IV. c. 3.

emigration,

emigration, even to the ocean of Cadiz by this time, both of them being originally colonies from Tyre, the Carthaginians readily granted their request: and furnishing them with powerful succours, not only repulsed the Spaniards, but likewise made themselves masters of almost the whole province, in which their new city stood (4), as Justin will have it.

It appears from the word Gadir, or Gaddir, the true Phœnician or Punic name of Cadiz, that the city received its name from the island on which it was seated; and therefore that the Tyrians were in possession of it some time before they built the city, therefore the Phœnicians dwelt upon that island, or made use of the harbour, before what we now look upon as the city of Cadiz to have been built: for Gadir properly signifies an inclosure (5), or spot of ground separated from all other tracts, as this island was by the sea. It likewise denotes a fence or mound, as this island was doubtless considered by the Phœnicians, after their long and fatiguing voyages, against the rage and fury of the sea. According to Strabo, the Tyrians first sailed to this island a considerable time after Hercules was deified; and made several fruitless expeditions, at considerable distances of time, before they could settle upon it. This, in conjunction with what has been advanced by Philostratus, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at least, of as late a foundation as supposed by these gentlemen.

The author of the etymologicon indeed insinuates it to have been built by Archaleus, the son of Phœnic, which will carry it further back; but this favours so much of fable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We shall only, continue these authors, at present further observe, that Cadiz and Tartessus were frequently mistaken for one another: of which I have said enough.

(4) Diodor. Sic. i. 5. c. i, ii. Justin. i. 44. (5) Univ. Hist. Vol. xvii. Book iv. c. 13. p. 34. n. (E.)

Let us continue the words of the Universal History; which says, they learn from Justin the first expedition the Carthaginians made to Spain, was in order to assist the new city of Gades above mentioned; and as the Carthaginian fleet, sailing from Carthage to Gades, easily might, nay, almost naturally would, take Ebusus, and the other Balearic islands, in its way; there is pretty good reason to believe, that Gades was succoured, and Ebusus, with the other Balearic islands, planted or reduced much about the same time. The particular periods, likewise, in which Justin and Diodorus have related these events to have happened, seem nearly to correspond, which, say they, in some measure confirm our opinions: and that admitting this, it will follow, that the Carthaginians made their first descent in Spain about an hundred and sixty years after the building of their city, and which they apprehend to be one of the most early foreign transactions in which they were concerned: and further, since Carthage was so potent when Gades was in its infancy, they suppose the former to have been at least eighty or an hundred years older than the latter; if so, Dido might have founded her city not far from the time of the Trojan war, since, according to Velleius, Gades was built by the Tyrians about that number of years after the destruction of Troy: which, continues this history, is an additional argument in favour of what Sir Isaac Newton has advanced as to the time of that destruction, and seems to carry with it an air of probability: and as to Velleius's assertion, that Gades was more ancient than Carthage, he is plainly refuted by Diodorus and Justin, and the reason of the thing; neither had he asserted this, had it not been in consequence of an hypothesis: that the Romans in his time generally followed the technical chronology of Eratosthenes, supposing it to be true: Velleius finding, therefore, in some good author, that Gades was absolutely affirmed to be built by the Tyrians eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war; and by the Punic records, that

Carthage

Carthage was between two and three hundred years later than that war, according to the artificial chronology of Eratosthenes, which he took for granted was true; he thence concluded, that Gades was older than Carthage: but that the Eratosthenean chronology is now, by some very learned men, believed to have placed the destruction of Troy near three hundred years too high; and, if so, that no great stress is to be laid upon it. Velleius's authority, therefore, when he asserts the city of Gades to have been built about eighty or a hundred years after the Trojan war, depends upon some good author, as is plain, say they, from Justin compared with Virgil, Servius, Apollodorus, and the marbles; but when he makes it older than Carthage, upon the chronology of Eratosthenes, it cannot be entirely relied upon, particularly in the point before us, as appears from Justin, Diodorus, and others: in the first case, therefore, it is widely different from what it is in the other. Justin clearly intimates, that the inhabitants of the island Gades had a temple there sacred to Hercules before the city was built. So that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being erected either about, or immediately after, the time of the Trojan war, in prejudice of what has been advanced; which yet, say my authors, we are far from positively insisting upon as matter of fact, but only propose it to readers as a point deserving further consideration: and that, on this occasion, it may not be improper to remind the readers, that, according to the common computation, Troy was taken the twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion, or April, eleven hundred and eighty-four years before Christ; whereas Sir Isaac Newton places it nine hundred and four years only before the commencement of the Christian æra, referring to these authors (6).

I must here but in brief observe, that the prolixity to discuss this point, would too far extend the limits I have proposed in these

(6) Diod. Sic. 1. 5. c. 1. Vitruv. Justin. Vell. Paterc. 1. 1. sub init. Newton's Chron. p. 3, 66, 112, &c.

sheets on matters of such high antiquity. I shall only here observe, that in the seventh year of the reign of Pygmalion, that his sister Elisa, called also Dido, flying from Tyre, built Carthage in Africa: and afterwards he sent to the temple of Hercules, standing in the island of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of massy gold, and of most exquisite and curious workmanship, its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderful resemblance with the natural fruit of that tree (7).

Now Pygmalion reigned forty years (8); Dido fled in his seventh year, he therefore reigned thirty-three years after her flight; and sometime in those last numbers, or before, sent his fleet to Gades, with that rich donative. Gadir was therefore not only known to them, but it must have been a station, and the temple must have been magnificent, as were those of Tyre, &c. in Phœnicia; and equal to receive so vast a donative: and by the accounts already related, it was one hundred and sixty years after the flight of Dido, before the Carthaginians visited that isle, which circumstance alone is sufficient to confute what has been said from Justin, &c.

The religion originally of the Phœnicians, was patriarchal, pure, and undefiled, and so brought into Spain; the temples at this early period, were pillars of stone. The pillars of Hercules, were these very pillars of stone, the same as the *Petræ ambrosiæ* of Tyre, taken from the stone or pillar, which Jacob slept on, as a pillow, whereon he had the celestial vision, which he set up for a pillar; and poured oil upon the top of it, and called the place Beth-el, i. e. the house of God, &c. The religion therefore of these times was the *ne plus ultra*, of all which I have sufficiently treated.

When man fell from the true worship of God, they had covered temples: temples, originally, were a grove, as those of

(7) Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. l. 5. c. i.

(8) Joseph. con. Apion. l. i.

Mamre; and a pillar, or circle of stones, as those of Stonehenge, &c. all open at top. In Hiram's days they covered temples: and Pygmalion succeeded Hiram years after.

It was long after the death of Melcartus, that the Phœnicians built a temple to him in the island of Gades, says Sir Isaac Newton, and adorned it with the sculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his Hydra, and the horses to whom he threw Diomedes, king of Bistones, in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit: and says Sir Isaac, by these consecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion (brother to Dido, who sent her fleet to Cadiz one hundred and sixty years after) you may know it was built in their days.

But I must still observe, that the overthrow of the Geryons was either in, or near Gades; for Garibay says, they were buried in the isle of Gades (9): and Mela says, the Tyrians built a stately temple to this Hercules, which became famous both for its antiquity and vast treasures (1): and Arnobius writes, "Tyrius Hercules sepultus in finibus Hispaniæ:" "the Tyrian Hercules was buried in the borders of Spain." And Mela says, "Cur sanctum sit, ossa ejus ibi sepulta efficiunt:" "the reason of its being sacred, is, that his bones are buried there."

Carthage, says Sir Isaac, paid tenths to this Hercules, and sent their payments to Tyre: and thence, it's probable, that this Hercules went to the coast of Afric, as well as Spain, and by his discoveries prepared the way for Dido. Orosius and others tell, that he built Capſa there: but if the Carthaginians were not only the founders of the city of Gades, but were masters of that island after having wrenched that country out of the Tyrian possession, what need had they to send their tenths to Tyre; seeing that the so much famed temple stood upon the Gadirian isle.

(9) Garibay, ubi sup. Lib. iv. c. xii. ad fin. (1) De sit. orb. Lib. iii. c. vi.

But, says Sir Isaac (2), Josephus tells us of an earlier Hercules, to whom Hiram built a temple at Tyre; and perhaps, continues he, there might be also an earlier Hercules of Tyre, who set on foot their trade on the Red Sea, in the days of David, or Solomon.

Hercules, after his expedition against Geryon in Spain, came that year into Italy, and upon the arrival of his fleet from Erythræa (Gades) he sailed to Sicily, and there left the Sicani, a Spanish people: that is, the followers of Geryon, the Maurusians whom they conquered: and after they had assisted him in making new conquests, he rewarded them with new seats. This was the Egyptian Hercules, the same as the Phœnician, who had a potent fleet, and in the days (says Sir Isaac) of Solomon, sailed to the Straits, and according to his custom, set up pillars there, and conquered Geryon, and returned back to Italy, Sicily, and Egypt, and was by the ancient Gauls called Ogmius, and by the Egyptians Nilus: for Erythræa, and the country of Geryon, were without the Straits; that is, Gibraltar.

Now, as Hercules died in that isle, and was there buried, I conclude that it was after he had made other descents on foreign lands, and returned from Britain: that his setting up his pillars on Gades was nine kings' reigns prior to Pygmalion: for Hiram, cotemporary with Solomon, began his reign in the year of the flood one thousand three hundred and two, and Elulæus, the successor of Pygmalion, in whose seventh year of his reign, Dido fled, commenced his reign in one thousand six hundred and thirty-one. Now the Carthaginians did not visit Gades until one hundred and sixty years after the flight of Dido, in Pygmalion's seventh year of his reign; which, from the beginning of Hiram's reign to the Carthaginians descent upon the isle of Gades, was near five hundred years.

(2) Vid. Chron. Ancient Kingd. amended.

It is but reasonable to suppose, as Hercules was several times upon that isle, that he built a city thereon, before the Carthaginians visit to the assistance of the Phœnicians, and more particularly as he was there buried: however, I must not dwell any longer, as I have treated sufficiently upon this subject.

Gades was known to the Phœnicians between the fourth and fifth century after the flood: and Hercules was the great navigator and planter of that isle; and it was a mart and Tyrian station, long before the Carthaginians flew to their assistance, being in fact not a part of the same people; for Hercules was not a descendent of the accursed line of Ham, if it was a curse, which Canaan received from Noah: and the Phœnicians were Canaanites by descent, and the Carthaginians were Tyrians, i. e. Phœnicians.

C H A P. VIII.

SPAIN'S ANTIQUITY CONTINUED, AND MAINTAINED, ETC.

I MAY venture to affirm, that very few towns were in Spain, (those on the sea coast excepted) and built by Phœnicians; as Carteia, Tartessus, and Gadir, Medina Sidonia, Malacca, &c. before the Carthaginians landed at Gadir: and when the Turditani had, at the instigation of Hannibal, assisted the brave Saguntines, their neighbours, against the Romans; but one city that they had, is mentioned, the name of which is not so much as recorded; and which these caused to be razed, and the inhabitants to be sold for slaves (1).

As for Gadir, having been once called the Erythræan isle, where Geryon is said to have kept his fine oxen, which Hercules came and stole from him (2); and which is placed by others, near that of Gades, while others again have thought it to have sunk

(1) Liv. Lib. XXI. c. vi. Lib. XXIV. c. xlii. (2) Hesiod. Theogon. ver. 289, & seq.

into the sea, or was to be sought for among the rocks, is a point not to be well settled. The Universal History says, that Ptolemy's Pæna, and Erythia, are two small obscure islands in the Atlantic ocean, opposite to the tract between his Major and Minor Atlas; and that this island Erythia, is now called Mogador, and has a castle in it of considerable strength, and defended by a garrison of two hundred men, who are posted there to secure the gold mines in the neighbouring country, from which it is about five miles distant (3).

On the isle of Cyprus was a promontory, called Gades, a Phœnician name, the same as Gadira, but afterwards Capo Chiti.

The isle of Cyprus was first discovered by the Phœnicians, as Eratosthenes informs us (4), about two or three generations, according to Sir Isaac Newton's computation (5), before the days of Asterius and Minos, kings of Crete, that is, about one thousand and six years before the Christian æra.

Strabo says, that the Bætis formerly emptied itself into the sea at two different places (6): one of them has been stopped up. Mela mentions the city of Carteia in the same bay (7), which, he says, some fancy to have been the ancient Tartessus. Hence authors, says the Universal History (8), are divided in their opinions, whether there were two distinct cities, or the same with different names. We find nothing, continue these gentlemen, that can satisfy our readers on that head: ancient authors often confounding these two names and that of Gades together, as the learned Bochart and others have justly observed.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from Tartessus to that of Gades, on account of Hercules's setting up his two columns there (9), it is rightly rejected.

(3) Moll. de la Croix, &c. Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xv. p. 188. and n. (F). (4) Apud Strabonem l. 14. p. 684. (5) Sir Is. Newt. Chron. p. 183. (6) Strabo, Lib. iii. (7) De situ orb. Lib. ii. c. vi. (8) Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xxiv. p. 472. n. (G). (9) Dionysius Alexander. Vide Auct. Hisp. Sup. citat. and Gerund. Paralip. Lib. l.

I find in the history of the Celtes, that the total overthrow which Jupiter gave to the Titans, was near the ancient city of Tartesa in Spain, a sea-port town a little to the north of Cadiz (1): where it seems he went in person with a great fleet, and a powerful army, and having brought over some of their confederates to his side, and gained this signal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

This seems also confirmed by what Justin (2) adds, that the Curetes lived formerly in the forests about Tartessus. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed, after Vossius, that it ought to be read Cinetes, because the Curetes were a people of Crete.

Now the Curetes were the priests, or soothsayers, of the Titans and Celtes, and accompanied them in their wars: What wonder, then, say my authors (3), that some of them who had followed Jupiter in this expedition, and delighted otherwise in a kind of an Ascetic life, should be induced to make those forests their abode?

Before the death of Jupiter, he is affirmed, as a known truth (4), to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the western or European part of it to his uncle Dis, or Pluto, surnamed also Agefilaus, whilst himself kept the Asiatic or eastern part of it (5): he also gave some part of Africa to his nephew Atlas.

The name Agefilaus, which signifies a leader of the people, or Agefander, as it is found in other writers (6), and signifies a leader of men, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into Europe, and perhaps as far as Spain; where, as I have observed, there had been both Titans and Curetes in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Tartesia. Here likewise he is supposed to have found out some rich mines of gold

(1) Tartul. Apolog. Scholiast. in Iliad VIII. and ver. i. 479. ap. Pezron, c. xi.
 (2) Lib. XLIV. c. iv. (3) Univ. Hist. Vol. VI. B. I. c. xii. p. 49. n. (B).
 (4) Ibid. p. 50. (5) Evemer. ap. Lactant. institut. Lib. I. c. x. (6)
 Æschyl. Callimach. Athen. Hesych. ap. Pezron ibid.

and silver (7), by which he grew so rich, that he got the name of Pluto, in Greek Πλούτος, which signifies rich, and was afterwards made the god of riches, upon his being deified; and this probably induced Strabo to believe, that the Tartara of the Greeks and Latins, came from the above-named Tartesia, a country situate in the utmost parts of Spain westward (8).

Hence likewise, Jupiter having the dominion of the east, or sun-rising, as Pluto had that of the west, or sun-setting, came also probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions: perhaps likewise it might be, the mythologists of those fables think it very reasonable to assign the government of riches, and the infernal regions, to the same deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

Jupiter began to reign when Isaac had attained the one half of his age (9), or some years after Abraham's death, and this is what may be made out from ancient historians, such as Evemerus, Ennius, Thallus, and some others, who all agree, that Jupiter reigned in the time of Belus, the first king of Assyria; which agrees exactly with the opinion of those who made the verses of the Sybils, which expressly say, that Saturn, with his brothers Titan and Japhet, began to reign with the tenth generation after the deluge: they were those, whom people called the children of heaven and earth, because they excelled all others in virtue and strength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly answers to the time of Abraham: however, Mr. Pezron places this Titan prince Jupiter, no higher than the middle, that is, the ninety-eighth year of Isaac's life, and that he could not precede Moses above three hundred years.

Jou, or Jupiter, was the youngest son of Saturn's children; Saturn was Ifus, or Chronus, the eldest son of four, of their father Uranus, married to his own sister Γη Ge, or the earth.

(7) Strab. Geogra. i. 5. (8) Vid. Strabo, idem. (9) Univ. Hist. Vol. vi. B. i. c. xii. p. 40.

Now according to the Phœnician historian Sanchoniathon, Uranus was Noah, and Chronus was Ham: these two systems clash remarkably together; and I take them from the same source: but to enter deeply into these matters, would extend my present plan, and I must refer to my Phœnician history, if it pleases God to permit me to finish it, and restore those losses of books and notes consumed on the first of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, by the mob of New York, on account of my protecting the stamp-papers in Fort George of that city: however, I allow, the ancient territories of the Celtes, over whom Jupiter reigned, to have extended east and west, from the head spring Ister or Danube, which divided them from the European Sarmatia, quite cross Europe unto Cape Finisterre, and the Strait of Hercules, now Gibraltar; and contained among the other provinces, Iberia, now Spain and Portugal, to the utmost borders of Spaneja.

The name of Celtiberians, or inhabitants of Celtiberia, or Spain, might be designed to distinguish those Celtes on that, from those on this side the Pyrenees. For Gallia, or Gaul, is found to be divided into Cis and Trans-alpina, and the word Iberia seems to be derived from the old Celtic and Teutonic Iber, which signifies over (1); and thus Spain, which is sometimes found in the plural number, was divided into Citerior and Ulterior.

Josephus indeed affirms, that it was first peopled by the Thobalines, or sons of Tubal, or Thobal, as he calls him (2), who was the fifth son of Japhet (3): on the other hand, the learned Sir Walter Raleigh thinks it more probable, that Spain was first inhabited by the Africans, who did from thence conceive such fondness for it, that they have been ever since striving from time to time to regain it (4). But, say the authors of the Universal History, we see no reason for preferring either of these opinions to

(1) Cluver. Lib. II. c. v. (2) Antiq. Lib. I. c. vii. (3) Gen. x. v. 2.
(4) History, chap. viii. sect. iii, & seq.

the concurrent testimony of the authors they have quoted; to which, say they, we may add, that the surname of Celto, given to that province, and that of Celtiberians, or Celto-Iberians, to its inhabitants, make it much more probable, that the Celtes were the first peoplers of it, especially when it is considered, that the name of Iberia signifies in the old Celtic and Teutonic, over, or on the other side, as has been already observed: so that the Celtiberians might mean only the Celtes, on the other side the Pyreneans, to distinguish them from those on this side.

It is likewise more natural to suppose, that the warm situation of Spain might invite the Celtes thither from the more northern climates of Europe, than that the Africans should go thither by sea; unless we can, say these gentlemen, swallow the ridiculous Spanish tradition, which makes Tubal to have crossed over thither, and to have built the town of St. Vaal, which is still standing at this day (5).

But when these gentlemen, in another volume (6), treat of the names of Spain, they speak doubtfully, or rather fix on only a part of Spain, being known either to the Greeks or Romans. The generality of the Greek writers, say they, call Spain *Ιβηρία*, Iberia, either from a colony of Iberians, a people bordering upon mount Caucasus, planted there, or from the Iberus, the Ebro of the moderns, one of the most noted rivers of this country: however, the Ancients who lived before Polybius, by Iberia understood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe, or the Straits of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and consequently going under no name amongst the Greeks and Romans. As the Iberus, continue these gentlemen, was by far the most considerable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt, according to some, did its name

(5) Hist. of the World, ubi sup. sect. iv. Univ. Hist. Vol. vi. Book I. c. xii.
 (6) Idem, Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xxiv. p. 457.

from

from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called Egyptus: but notwithstanding what is here advanced, they apprehend, that the true and proper Iberia was originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celtes settling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; which, if we admit, say they, it is no wonder that the Phœnicians gave it the name of Iberia: for the Hebrew עבר Eber, as well as the Chaldec, Syriac, or Phœnician עברא Ebra, or Ibra, in the singular number, signifies a passage, and, in the plural, bounds or limits. The Phœnicians, therefore, might either have called the most considerable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, Eber, Iber, Ebra, &c. and from thence have stiled the inhabitants of it Iberians; or have denominated the tract itself Iberia, from its situation, it having been generally considered by them, as one of the remotest regions, or western limits of the earth. Be that as it will, we can, say they, by no means think it probable, that any part of Spain was called Iberia, from a colony of Iberians settled there, since history does not in the least countenance such a notion. Festus Avienus places the Iberi upon the coast of the Atlantic ocean, to the west of the Iberus, a little river between the Bætis and the Anas, the Rio Tinto, or Rio de Azeche of the moderns: but his authority, with regard to the situation of the most ancient Iberi, must give way to that of Polybius (7).

As these accounts do not tally well together, (waving Josephus, and the Spanish historians concerning the fabulous account of Tubal) I shall only consider the Celtes and Phœnicians.

Hercules the Phœnician flourished, and conquered Antæus in Africa, and the Geryons in Spain, about the days of Abraham.

(7) Christopher. Cellar. ubi supra. Polyb. Lib. III. Homer. apud Bochart. in Chan. Lib. I. c. xxxv. ut & ipse Bochart. ibid. Val. Schindlen lex. pentaglot. in voc. עבר Claudian. in Stilich. Strab. Lib. III. p. 169. & Posidon. apud Strabon. ibid. Philostrat. in vit. Apollon. Titan, Lib. II. c. xiv. Pind. Olymp. 3. sub fin. & Scholiast. Pind. in loc. Plin. Nat. Hist. Lib. III. c. vii. Festus Avien. mor. maritim.

Antæus was Atlas. If Jupiter gave him Africa, they all lived at one and the same time with his Africans. The elder Geryon was a stranger, as his name importeth, not Celtic: Geryon (as Sir Walter rightly observes) landed about the Straits. Geryon was buried in the isle of Gadir, so was Hercules. Hercules built Carteia in Gibraltar bay: the coast of this ocean was therefore first peopled by the elder Geryon's Maurusians, and Hercules's Phœnician followers, who conquered the Africans, and seated themselves with them, and in their stead.

Perhaps Jupiter with his fleet, might have landed an army, and have overthrown a body of people near Tartessus, as it has been since so called. These might have been some of the aforesaid Africans, who had fled from the conquering arms of Hercules: for Hercules's residence was upon the island of Gadir, now Cales: if so, some of Jupiter's followers might have taken up their abode in the forests of Tartessus, and in time become a formidable people; who, with the other Celtes, known by the name of Celtiberians, for reasons already given, joined, and obliged the Phœnicians to call in the Carthaginians to their aid.

But, after all, I do not believe at this early period, that the Celtes, under Jupiter, ever made this descent: I rather take it to be one story, i. e. the descent of Hercules, and that he did make this early descent, is allowed by the learned antiquarians. It was about the days of Abraham; and it was him who conquered Antæus, who was Atlas.

Besides, Iberia is a Phœnician name: and Spanija, or Sphaneja, is a Phœnician name, and Lusitania is a Phœnician name, &c.

And it must be remembered, that there was a great affinity between the Celtic and Hebrew tongue; and the Phœnician character in the early ages, was the most universal, and is now allowed to have been the same with the Samaritan and Hebrew: so that Iberia, Celt-Iberia, Lusitania, &c. may be either Phœnician or Celtic, or both.

Besides,

Besides, at this very early period, in the reign of Jupiter, some time in the latter end of Isaac's days, (for it was but in the middle of his age, when he began his reign) it seems very improbable for the descendents of Gomer, to have migrated so exceedingly fast, as to spread themselves to the very verge of the south-western Iberian, or rather Spanejan shore, ready, as it were, to step into Africa: particularly when I consider with Sir Walter and others, that their migrations were all by land; for it is wonderful to suppose, that the descendents of Gomer could have come into Europe by sea, with such numerous retinues, so early as to people Spain, as well as other countries, so long before any thing of navigation, even of coasting, was known to them: as by the account of Jupiter's descent, it implies, that the country on the Straits was well peopled by these Celtes, anciently Gomerians. Now, by the learned Usher, I find the dispersion of mankind from the tower of Babel, happened in the hundred and first year of the flood, at Peleg's birth. If therefore we consider, that the colonies migrated from Shinaar, the branch of Shem, inclosed by that of Japhet on the north, and Ham on the south; the nations and families in each of these great divisions took their stations according to seniority, the eldest remaining nearest the centre, and the youngest removing outermost.

And nothing is more absurd than to suppose, that the Gomerians separated themselves from the rest, before the general dispersion of Babel. Gomer was the eldest son of Japhet, the eldest son of Noah; he was the father of the Gomerites, who, with the other patriarchs, never left their first settlements, called by the Greeks Galatians, who were the Gauls of Asia Minor, inhabiting part of Phrygia; of this opinion is Bochart, and if it be right, those who derive the Cimmerians or Cimbri from Gomer, have some grounds for it, the Cimmerians seeming to be the same people with the Gauls, or Celtes, under a different name.

Let Gomer therefore rest where the learned Bochart settles him, viz. in Phrygia (8), without straining to make that word the Greek translation of his name. Askenas was Gomer's eldest son, or (according to the Armenians) Togarmath his youngest, or it may be both of them, in Armenia; and Rephath the second son in Cappadocia, or in some province, in the neighbourhood of Phrygia (9): for the condition in which the young world was then, would not permit them to go far from each other at first; and when their increase made it afterwards necessary to enlarge their territories, it is reasonable to suppose, that they kept a correspondence with each other, by means of those rivers, along whose banks both they and their descendants were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of pasture for their numerous herds (1): and even when they began to spread themselves further and wider into Europe, they seem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were by a settled contract, for in proportion to their advancing northward, we find, says the Universal History, the Gomerians, who had taken the left hand, insensibly spreading themselves westwards, towards Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and so quite to Spain, whilst the Scythians, or descendants of Magog, moved to the right eastward, towards Muscovy and Tartary, as far as the borders of Cathai, if not beyond.

Thus was all Europe, and the far greater part of Asia, their utmost extent northward, peopled by those two famous nations, the former almost wholly by the Celtes, or Gomerians, that is, from the utmost parts of Spain to Scythia Europeana, eastward, and the latter from thence almost to the territories of China: so that the whole extent of these two nations reached from the tenth

(8) Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. III. c. i. (9) Vid. Euseb. Loc. Hebr. & Bochart. ubi sup. Lib. III. c. viii. (1) See Raleigh's Hist. ubi sup. sect. vi.

degree west, to the eighth east longitude, and in latitude from the fortieth degree quite up to the arctic circle.

Upon the whole, then, it appears, that the first rank belongs the noble Celtic nation, as descended from the elder brother, though the preference has been given to the Scythians by the universal vote of profane authors, who were unacquainted, that their progenitor was Gomer's younger brother (2).

Now, there was a sufficient number of people at the birth of Peleg, and of the flood one hundred and one, for the planting of nations (3): for neither does the scripture suppose, as Perizonius well observes, multitudes being at that time, nor did the nature of the transaction require it; the first plantations being made only with a few, and those small families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourhood of Shinaar (4).

Archbishop Usher is of opinion, that in the hundred and second year of the flood, mankind might have increased to the number three hundred and eighty-eight thousand, six hundred and five males, and as many females; in all, seven hundred and seventy-seven thousand, two hundred and ten of the lines of Japhet, Shem, and Ham: so that the third of these, to either of the patriarchs, amounts to two hundred and fifty-nine thousand and seventy. Such an extraordinary increase the archbishop ascribes to an extraordinary fecundity, owing to that repeated command or blessing, Increase and multiply, and fill the earth (5): but a much smaller number had been sufficient.

And it is now generally owned, that the number of souls upon the face of the whole earth, at present, does not exceed four thousand millions.

(2) Univ. Hist. Vol. VI. B. I. c. xii. p. 10. (3) Idem, Vol. I. B. I. c. ii. p. 359. (4) Perizon. Orig. Babylon. p. 309, 310. (5) Ush. Chron. Sacr. B. I. c. v. p. 27.

It is to be considered, that each of the colonies increased in proportion as they removed further from the centre of their migration, before they arrived at the countries, where they finally settled; for the earth was not planted at once, but by degrees.

As to the order or method wherein these first plantations of the earth were made, some have imagined there was little or none, but that each colony settled where they did, by mere chance (6), every one seizing on those countries where he casually arrived (7): yet (says the last quoted history) if we attentively consider the account given of this transaction, by the sacred historian, we shall find nothing more foreign to his intention, than a precipitate and confused dissipation: for, first, we are told, with regard to the sons of Japhet, the eldest branch of Noah's posterity, "that these
" were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one
" after his tongue, after their families, in their nations (8);" in like manner, Moses concludes the account he gives us of the sons of Ham, the youngest branch of Noah's posterity, with these words: "These are the sons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues,
" in their countries, in their nations (9):" and that of the descendants of Ham ends thus: "These are the sons of Shem after their
" families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations (1):" From which texts may well be inferred (as the learned Mede has observed) (2) that this great division of the earth of which we are speaking, was performed orderly, and was not a confused and irregular dispersion, wherein every one went whither he would, and seated himself where he liked best (3).

We see a two-fold order in these first plantations: first they were ranged according to their nations, and then every nation was

(6) Heideg. Hist. Patr. t. 1. Exerc. xxii. sect. xi. (7) Hestæus. Miles apud Euseb. Præp. Evang. Lib. ix. c. xv. Univ. Hist. Vol. 1. B. 1. c. ii. p. 361, 364. (8) Gen. x. 5. (9) Ibid. ver. 20. (1) Ibid. ver. 31. (2) Vid. Mede in loc. ut supra citat. (3) Wells's Geog. of the Old Testament, Vol. 1. p. 93.

ranked

ranked after their families; so that every nation dwelt and had their lot by themselves; and in every nation the families also dwelt, and had their lot by themselves; for the true import of the before cited texts seems to be, that the land, or peculiar lot of each family, did lie within the general lot of each nation.

Now, as these Celtes moved regularly as I have described; and we may rationally suppose, it was some time before they peopled that great country of Asia Minor; possessing the margins of every river, and clearing the country to make room as they multiplied; so they must have pursued the same tedious plan, through those vast tracts of lands already mentioned before they could have attained the Pyrenean hills; moving, multiplying, toiling, spreading, and fixing their abodes in a uniform, regular system.

As for the hypothesis of the different chronologers, every reader may form his own judgment upon them, or erect a new one for himself; but this must be remembered, they were the children of Shem, Ham, and Japhet; the descendents from Shinaar, migrating over some thousands of miles, through woods, forests, deserts, and bogs; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage, peopling the sides of all rivers as presented in their migration, for convenience of pasture, ignorant of the art of navigation: whereas the line of Ham were very early navigators, both Syrians, Phœnicians, Idumeans, and Egyptians, in the most early ages; and therefore migrated into distant colonies much sooner than the line of Japhet: for navigation was on the Mediterranean as early as the days of Abraham; and in the Persian Gulph, Red Sea, and Indian ocean, so early as the days of Esau, who was Edom: yet, as Tibullus has it,

“Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyrus.”

“A Tyrian first taught a vessel to trust herself to the winds.”

And to countenance this, by many examples, I shall only here observe, that Ashur the second son of Shem, when he left Shinaar went into Assyria, and built Nineveh, and other cities, (as Perizonius

zonius has clearly proved) that the text ought so to be understood: yet the Assyrians, his descendents, knew nothing of the isle of Cyprus; no, neither was it known to the descendents of Japhet, remaining in its pristine state, till the Phœnicians, those great and ancient navigators, first discovered it. If the line of Japhet, or Shem, had navigated on the Mediterranean before the Phœnicians, they must have discovered this isle, only separated from the continent by two small seas, the mare Syrum, and mare Pamphylium.

This island extends from east to west along the coast of Cilicia about one hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad: it lies between the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and was anciently deemed one of the most fruitful islands of the Mediterranean: and, as I have said, it was first discovered by the Phœnicians, as Eratosthenes has wrote (4), about two or three generations, according to Sir Isaac Newton's computation (5), before the days of Asterius and Minos, kings of Crete, that is, about one thousand and six years before the Christian æra. In one thousand and four the temple was finished, and dedicated by Solomon, which was the one thousand three hundred and forty-fourth of the flood. It was, says Eratosthenes, when first discovered, so overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the Phœnicians first cut down the wood for the melting of copper. Herodotus likewise supposes the Phœnicians to have been the first who peopled the island. Pygmalion, king of Tyre, is said by Stephanus to have built the city of Carpasia in this island. I know that Josephus will have the island of Cyprus to have been the seat of Kitim, and the town called Citium, which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them (6); but in the Apocrypha, Macedonia is plainly denoted by the land of Chettim, Alexander being mentioned as coming from thence (7); and Perſes, king of Macedo-

(4) Apud Strabonem, lib. xiv. p. 684.

(5) Sir Is. Newt. Chron. p. 183.

(6) Antiq. ubi sup.

(7) 1 Mac. i. i.

nia, is called king of the Cittims (8). Josephus in this point, in my opinion, must give place to Eratosthenes, Herodotus, and others.

But what seems extraordinary, is, that the Phœnicians were so long, before they themselves had discovered Cyprus, being in the one thousand three hundred and forty-second of the flood, the year before Solomon set about the building of the temple, one thousand and four years before Christ; for, as I have observed, navigation was on the Mediterranean so early as Abraham's days, i. e. about the fifth century.

Sidon was built by Sidon, the eldest son of Canaan, the son of Ham, the third son of Noah; and the city of Tyre was the daughter of Sidon. So early was the Phœnician coast settled: and the parts planted by Canaan's line is easily to be found, viz. Sidon, Heth, the Jebusites, Amorites, Girgashites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites, all settling, beyond doubt, in the land of Canaan, in the year of the flood three hundred and fifty-two, which was before Christ one thousand nine hundred and ninety-six, and in course three thousand seven hundred and sixty-three years ago.

Now from Shinaar to Tingis, where the line of Ham migrated, is nothing near to the vast distances, that the Gomerian line were obliged to take, before they could have reached to the Tartesian forest; and therefore must have attained to that part of Africa long before the descendents of Japhet could have reached the opposite European shore; but when we consider the early navigation upon the Mediterranean, it is no wonder to find Atlas and Antæus reigning over Mauritania, about the fifth century; Antæus was killed by Hercules, who navigated on the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic ocean, as far as our Scilly isles, about the fifth century also.

(8) Ibid. VIII. 5.

A colony therefore transported themselves over into Spain, under the elder Geryon, who were conquered by Melec-cartha, after he had built Carteia in the bay of Gibraltar; which I take to have been the eldest town or city in Spain: but, in process of time, the Gomerian line extended themselves over the Iberus, to the utmost limit of Spaneja, and were known by the name of Celtiberians, for reasons already given.

I shall only just say, that nautical knowledge, with the use of the compass, steering by the Tyrian Cynosure, and acquaintance of doubling the Cape of Good Hope, were known to these great people.

In the history of the isle of Samos, I find their first enterprise is their sailing to Egypt; but it must be observed here, that navigation, with writing, astrology, arithmetic, poetry, &c. were carried into Greece by the Phœnicians under Cadmus. These Samians planted a colony in Egypt, in the city of Ofias, which, as Herodotus writes (9), was inhabited by the Samians of the Æschrionian tribe: but, as to the time of this expedition, history is in the dark, as also of their first voyage to Tartessus in Spain, which is related by Herodotus thus: a Samian vessel, bound homewards from Egypt under the command of one Colæus, was, by stress of weather, driven into the harbour of Plataea, an island of Lybia: from thence Colæus set sail, with a design to recover the coasts of Egypt; but had scarce left the island, when a violent easterly wind arising carried him, in spite of all his endeavours, beyond the pillars of Hercules, nor did it ever cease or abate till he arrived at Tartessus. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants flocking to the shore, bought their commodities at such prices as they were pleased to set upon them; whence the profits they made were so considerable, that, upon their return to Samos, they made, with the tenth part of their

(9) Herodot. Lib. III. c. xxvi.

gain, amounting to six talents, a basin of brass, surrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of Juno, supported by three statues of brass in a kneeling posture seven feet high (1).

It is, says Dr. Arbuthnot (2), with great assurance that the several cities of Greece dispute the invention of different sorts of ships, when the Phœnician and Egyptian vessels, from whom undoubtedly they had their models, were daily to be seen in their harbours. They have indeed, says this gentleman, one thing which they may claim as an improvement of the Phœnician navigation; for the Phœnicians conducted their ships by the Little Bear, and they by the Great Bear: but their navigation was still confined to the Mediterranean, till about six hundred years after the expedition of the Argonauts, when Cælus of Samos sailed out of the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the city of Tartessus, at the mouth of the Bætis, now Guadalquivir, not far from the said Straits.

The celebrated Argonautic expedition happened in the reign of Pelias, king of Thessaly, about the year of the world two thousand seven hundred and twenty, or one hundred years before the taking of Troy. We do not, say the authors of the Universal History (3), pretend to settle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbishop Usher, without entering into the difference between Sir Isaac Newton and him: they therefore fix it in the year of the flood one thousand and sixty-eight, which was one thousand two hundred and eighty before Christ: therefore Colæus sailed to Tartessus one thousand six hundred and sixty-eight years after the flood.

Now let us see who and what these Curetes were, in the Tartessian forests about the Straits of Gibraltar.

(1) Idem, lib. iv. c. clii.

(2) Vid. Dr. Arbuthnot on Coins, &c. p. 225.

(3) Univ. Hist. Vol. viii. B. ii. c. i. p. 218, 219.

In the Cretan history (4), next to the Idæi Daëtyli, were the nine Curetes; the Curetes mentioned here by Diodorus were, according to Herodotus (5) and Strabo (6), originally Phœnicians, and accompanied Cadmus out of Phœnicia; some of them settling in Phrygia, where they were called Corybantes; some in Crete, where they were known by the name of Idæi Daëtyli; some in Rhodes, where they bore the name of Telchines, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus calls the Idæi Daëtyli Barbarians, that is, strangers; and says, that they were the first who brought letters into Greece, Phrygia, and Crete; and adds, that, by their assistance, king Minos built a fleet, and gained the sovereignty of the sea (7). According to these authors, the Curetes and Idæi Daëtyli were one and the same people, and did not settle in Crete till the time of Minos. Bochart brings the Curetes from Palestine, induced thereunto by the likeness there is between their name and that of the Crethim, or Cerethites, a people among the Philistines (8). Now the Philistines conquered Sidon, and it is not unlikely, that some of them mixed with the Phœnicians, and attended Cadmus into Crete and Greece. In short, wander almost where you will on the Mediterranean, to the Palus Mæotis, Atlantic shores of Africa, and Europe even to Britain, and you may trace these once great people; nay, I am of opinion, in America also. They navigated on the Red Sea, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and at length anchored in the famous Gadirian bay.

It was the Phœnicians, who advised Alexander to make harbours at the mouth of the river Indus, which advice he took: and he had undertaken to sail round the Cape of Good Hope, but was prevented by death.

The Phœnicians were the greatest navigators in the ancient times; they inhabited the maritime coasts of Syria, bordering

(4) Dares Phryg. Vol. i. B. i. lib. x. p. 464. (5) Herod. lib. v. c. lviii. (6) Strab. lib. i. c. xv. (7) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. i. (8) Boch. in Canaan,

on Palestine. Their country is properly called Phœnice, not Phœnicia; "Phœnicen illustravere Phœnices," saith Pomponius Mela, "solers hominum Genus, & ad belli pacisque munia eximium, literas, & literarum operas, aliasque etiam artes, maria navibus adire, classe configere, imperitare gentibus, regnum præliumque commenti."

Herodotus tells us (9), the first inhabitants of Corsica were Phœnicians; for, that Cadmus, the son of Agenor, when wandering in quest of Europa, fell upon this island, which was named Callista, and left there some of his countrymen, with his own cousin Membleareus: that eight generations afterwards, Theras, of the race of Cadmus, carried a colony there from Lacedæmon. But it is a great character indeed, to be skilled in arts and sciences, addicted to navigation and commerce, powerful and valiant to maintain the empire of the seas, as Mela has told us.

The great Sir Isaac Newton is of opinion, that Sesostris is the Osiris of the Egyptians, the Bacchus of the Greeks, and the Sefac or Shishak of the scripture; towards the truth of which he produces several arguments: but there is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater stress, for the proof of what he advances concerning Sesostris, than his seventh and last; which is as follows, wherein strong mention is made of this Gadirian isle.

Solon, says he (1), having travelled into Egypt, and conversed with the priests of Sais about their antiquities, wrote a poem of what he had learned, but did not finish it (2); and this poem fell into the hands of Plato, who relates out of it, that at the mouth of the Straits, near Hercules's pillars, there was an island called Atlantis, the people of which, nine thousand years before the days of Solon, reigned over Libya as far as Egypt, and over Eu-

(9) Herodot. lib. iv. cap. cxlvii. (1) Chronol. Ancient Kingd. amended.
(2) Plut. in Timæo & Critica.

rope as far as the Tyrrhenian sea; and all this force collected into one body, invaded Egypt and Greece, and whatever was contained within the pillars of Hercules, but was resisted, and stopped by the Athenians and other Greeks; and thereby the rest of the nations not yet conquered were preserved. He saith also, that in those days the gods having finished their conquests, divided the whole earth amongst themselves, partly into larger, partly into smaller portions, and instituted temples and sacred rites to themselves: and that the island of Atlantis fell to the lot of Neptune, who made his eldest son Atlas king of the whole island, a part of which was called Gadir; and that in the story of the said wars, mention was made of Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichthonius, and others before Theseus, and also of the women who warred with the men, and of the habit and stature of Minerva, the study of war in those days being common to men and women: by all these circumstances it is manifest, says Sir Isaac, that these gods were the *Dii magni majorum gentium*, and lived between the age of Cecrops and Theseus; and that the wars, which Sesostris, with his brother Neptune, made upon the nations by land and sea, and the resistance he met with in Greece, and the following invasion of Egypt by Neptune, are here described; and how the captains of Alexander the Great gained his conquests long after; and instituted temples, and priests, and sacred rites, to themselves, caused the nations to worship them, after their death, as gods: and that the island Gadir, or Gades, with all Libya, fell to the lot of him, who, after death, was deified by the name of Neptune. The time, therefore, continues Sir Isaac, when these things were done, is by Solon limited to the age of Neptune, the father of Atlas; for Homer tells us, that Ulysses, presently after the Trojan war, found Calypso, the daughter of Atlas, in the Ogygian island, perhaps, says he, Gadir; and that therefore it was but two generations before the Trojan war: and that this is that Neptune, who with Apollo, or Orus, fortified Troy with a wall, in the reign of Laomedon,

Laomedon, the father of Priamus, and left many natural children in Greece, some of which were Argonauts, and others were contemporaries with the Argonauts; and therefore he flourished but one generation before the Argonautic expedition, and, by consequence, about four hundred years before Solon went into Egypt: but the priests of Egypt in those four hundred years had magnified the stories and antiquity of the gods so exceedingly, as to make them nine thousand years older than Solon, and the island Atlantis bigger than Afric and Asia together, and full of people; and because in the days of Solon this great island did not appear, they pretended that it was sunk into the sea, with all its people: thus great was the vanity of the priests of Egypt in magnifying their antiquities!

So much for Sir Isaac Newton; I shall now observe, that the calculation already mentioned by Usher, excels every one yet; and that there is no occasion to suppose the increase of mankind so much, as even the lowest calculation.

Usher's calculation is nearly eight times as much as Petau's, or as eight to one: but Petau is almost fourteen thousand times greater than Cumberland, and Cumberland almost twice that of Whiston's.

Now, Usher's seems out of all proportion, and Petau's too much exaggerated; and indeed Whiston's, though so much inferior in numbers, yet he appears to be the most probable calculator: for the present number of inhabitants on the earth, are supposed to be about 4,000,000,000 of souls (3): and Mr. Whiston, by the same calculation, that he makes the inhabitants ninety-five years after the flood to be only two thousand and forty-eight, computes the number in four thousand one hundred years after the flood, which was about the year of Christ one

(3) Dr. Nichol's Conference, Part 1. p. 75, 76.

thousand seven hundred and fifty-two, to be 4,294,967,296; which is but a trifling difference, in comparison of the others.

Increase of	Years.	Calculators.	Souls.
Mankind in the year of the flood.	102	Usher	777,210
	100	Petau	98,304
	100	Cumberland	6,000
	95	Whiston	2,048

Now, considering there were but eight people, the increase to two thousand and forty-eight souls in ninety-five years, according to the lowest computation, is, in my opinion, rather too extravagant: but this I must submit to every reader's judgment; but shall conclude, that even agreeing with Mr. Whiston, it was but one third part of two thousand and forty-eight souls, which were the descendents from the eldest line, the Celtes, which gives six hundred and eighty-two multiplied by two. How can we then reconcile it to ourselves, that mankind could have migrated so fast, and in such numbers, as to people the furthest verge of Spain in these early days I have been treating on, without the art of navigation: I therefore conclude as I begun, that the Africans (Phutians, from Phut) and Phœnicians were the first people who set footing on this part of Spain; but that in process of time, the Celtiberians obliged those people inhabiting the coasts, and about the Straits, of Gibraltar, to call the Carthaginians to their aid.

C H A P. IX.

OF THE ISLE OF CADIZ, AND THE CITY; TEMPLE OF HERCULES, AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES; OF HERCULES, ETC.

THE city of Cadiz I have proved to have been very ancient, whether considered as built by the Carthaginians, or by the Phœnicians; at least we are sure the magnificent temple preceded their



their countrymen, the Carthaginians, many centuries. The pasture of the isle was anciently very rich; and if we may believe a traveller (1), who writes, that the soil produced so rich a pasture, that the cattle died of fatness within thirty days, unless they were let blood; and, says he, to speak the truth, the whole province is so exuberantly rich, that in the time of the Carthaginians, before the first Punic war, it was a temptation to those invaders to make war against it.

This island by father Mariana's account was seven hundred paces from the continent, and had three hundred leagues circumference; but what he means by this extravagant description, is beyond this author's comprehension, who says, that though he had often paced it round to examine if there were any footsteps of so unlikely a compass, he could never find any; for at that day, in one thousand seven hundred and five, it was no more than three leagues about: and the river, which parted it from the continent, was so narrow, that a bridge of six arches crossed over it: that this city was the Urbs Gaditarræ of the Romans, and one of their magazines for furnishing their transports in their maritime expeditions.

The city, continues this French traveller, is not extraordinary large, but full of people; the churches, convents, and private houses magnificent.

The fortifications were none of the best, and that part fronting the south, naked, but on the angle they had built a small fort into the sea, called St. Sebastian, which may prevent a descent in that quarter. The front to the bay was well walled, loaded with brass cannon, where the merchants walked in the evenings: that the neck of land between the two seas, had been lately fortified, which to this gentleman seemed impregnable, and where the earl of Essex and Sir Walter Raleigh made their famous descent, and in

(1) Vid. an account of Spain, published by a French gentleman in the year 1705.

one day sacked this wealthy city, and laid it in ashes: that at a mile's distance, stands the castle of Puntal, a small well built garrison, but then ill armed, and more negligently guarded, made use of to lay up the plate and money, which, contrary to the statutes of their country, they provided for the Genoese, and ether ships which went there for that purpose.

This castle, with that opposite in the bay, made some resistance when the earl of Essex invaded them: but that they were so small, that he was not twelve hours in reducing them, they not being above a cannon's shot asunder, would, in this traveller's opinion, prove hard for a man of war to sail between, if they were well garrisoned.

They had three gates, which were opened and shut every evening and morning, and each of them were guarded by the officers of the customs; but says, he thinks they made little use of them but to that purpose, nor that effectually: for nothing was more common than to run goods on shore, and carry money out, either by stratagem, or connivance of some of the officers: at the ringing the oration bell, the gates were all shut, and the keys carried to the governour.

The first and principal is Puerto de la Sevilla, because the boats, which trade to Seville, lie before it.

The second is Puerto de la Mar, because the captains and masters generally land from their ships.

The third is Puerto de la Tierra, because it is the key which opens to the island.

When the oration bell rung, the evening prayer was performed with great devotion; not but that it was observed, more or less, in all catholic countries; but at Cadiz it was done with such severity, that not one person, let him be who he would, in the streets, though the weather was never so bad, but falls down on his knees in the dirt, on the very place he stood, and in that posture gives up his thanksgivings for the mercies of the day.

When

When this is over, the city is on all sides shut, and it is then impossible to get out: that throughout the world, says this gentleman, the houses of the Jesuits excell all others, and so much did that in Cadiz exceed all that he had seen of the same foundation: and the reason of their grandeur was, that they admitted none into their habit, but persons of the highest quality, who generally carried all the best part of their estates, which they dedicated to the monastery: that in Cadiz they had such prodigious revenues, that in a year of scarcity in the said city, the Jesuits undertook to supply that populous place with provisions of all kinds for twelve months out of their own magazines.

This Portus Gaditanus, so well known through the whole world, is the common retreat of the galleons that came from the Indies to Spain; which is by the Spaniards called their *fac totum*.

Charles the fifth had such an opinion of the importance of it, that he included it among the three, whose preservation he so strongly recommended on his death-bed, to his son Philip the second; the other two were Flushing in Zealand, and la Goulette, near Tunis in Africa.

When Julius Cæsar visited the temple of Hercules on this isle, wherein was a statue of Alexander the Great, he shed tears, when he recollected the great actions Alexander had performed before he was thirty-three years old, while he had as yet performed nothing remarkable.

The emperor Charles the fifth took for his motto the two pillars of Hercules, but instead of the *nihil ulterius*, which had been before written on them, Charles put *plus ultra*, further on, since being master of South America, he could boast of having carried his conquests further than Hercules.

Here is, says my author (2), a spring of sweet water close to the sea, notwithstanding it flows and ebbs like the ocean: and

(2) Curious Antiquity, by P. L. Berkenmeyer.

that in the neighbourhood of Cales, there is a plant which has a very remarkable quality, it fades upon the rising of the sun, but resumes its former strength and verdure when it sets.

This city of Cadiz was severely bombarded by the English and Dutch, in one thousand seven hundred and three.

Another traveller tells us, that the island of Cadiz is eighteen miles long, and three miles over (3), in the broadest place; and is joined to the continent by the famous bridge Puente de Suago, built first by the Romans, and great part of it rebuilt by Charles the fifth. It is seven hundred feet in length, and there was a grand road to Cadiz over this bridge, quite from the Pyrenean mountains; for not only the adoration that was paid to the Egyptian Hercules drew an infinity of people thither, from all parts of the continent, but also the peculiar delights and beauty of the city of Cadiz were sufficient to attract mankind to that place, which Strabo affirms to be second to no city but Rome in the whole empire; and consequently must have been adorned with every kind of public edifices in the most sumptuous and magnificent manner: and the archbishop of Santo Domingo, in his Itinerary, says, that he saw a grand amphitheatre there, besides many other noble monuments of antiquity; among which, many curious inscriptions are recorded by Gruter, and several Spanish authors, one of which, being extremely singular and short, seems to demand a preference to the rest, and is as follows:

" D. M. S.

" SI LVBET, LEGITO :

" HELIODORUS INSANVS CARTHAGINIENSIS AD EXTREMVM ORBIS

" SARCOPHAGO TESTAMENTO ME HOC IYSSIT CONDIRE, VT

" VIDEREM, SI ME QVISQVAM INSANIOR AD ME VISENDVM

" VSQVE AD HVNC LOCVM PENETRARET."

(3) Account of the most remarkable places, &c. in Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys.

i. e.

“ D. M. S.

“ If you please, read :

“ Heliodorus, a Carthaginian madman, ordered me, by his will,
“ to be put into this Sarcophagus, at the extreme part of the
“ globe, that I might see whether any one more mad than my-
“ self would come as far as this place to see me.”

There are many parts of the Roman way (above-mentioned) to the temple of Hercules yet visible, but more especially in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, where it is known by the Moorish name el Arrezife, or the causeway; and the Ancients mention it as a consular work. The temple of Hercules was so immensely rich, that Mago, the Carthaginian general in Spain, carried on the second Punic war against the Romans, chiefly upon the strength of the gold and silver, which he took from thence; however, it was so plentifully supplied again with fresh offerings, by the time that Julius Cæsar defeated Pompey's sons at Munda, that he took prodigious treasure from it.

The figure of this temple is upon some very ancient coins that have been found at Cadiz.

There are likewise some remains of an aqueduct in the island of Cadiz, which is supposed to have been built in order to supply this temple with water. The vast cisterns, into which it was conveyed, were partly extant in the days this author wrote, i. e. one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, near the Puerto de Tierra, and the hermitage of St. Roque. Some workmen, when digging holes for salt-pits, made the first discovery about one hundred years ago.

The magnificent amphitheatre before-mentioned was pulled down by one of the ancient marquises of Cadiz (of the house of Leon) to build the castle.

Other monuments of antiquity were likewise there in great number before the plunder of Cadiz in fifteen hundred and ninety-six, by the English, when abundance of fine statues and fine marble were thrown down, and broken to pieces by the soldiers and sailors in the eagerness of their search after more portable treasures; besides, the city was burnt down.

Among these they mention a Colossean trunk in armour, exquisitely wrought, and supposed by some to have been a part of Alexander's statue, which was the only one that was permitted to have a place in the temple: (besides two that were dedicated to the Egyptian Hercules;) which statue of Alexander was the same that had given so remarkable a spur to Julius Cæsar's ambition.

There was also among the plunder a most beautiful statue of a young Bacchus, who was the favourite deity, next to Hercules, of the Andalusians, or the people of Bætica, where he is reckoned among the kings that preceded Hercules, and is probably the same with Osiris. Silius Italicus has an eye to this tradition in the following lines:

Tempore, quo Bacchus populos domitabat Iberos,
Concutiens thyrsos, atque armatâ Mænade, Calpen (4).

i. e. at the time when Bacchus brandishing his Thyrsus, and with his armed she-priests, subdued the Iberians and Calpe, i. e. Carteians, for the city was called Calpe Carteia, four miles north-west of the celebrated Mons Calpe, one of Hercules's pillars.

This city, called Gades, stands in as advantageous and singular a spot as could be wished or imagined; it is inaccessible on some sides by rocks, and on others by sands, and well fortified every where. It has one of the largest and securest bays in the world, and it is the centre of trade: it is crowded with merchants of all nations. The city looks extremely beautiful from the bay; for

(4) Lib. III.

the houses being very high, and appearing considerably above the bastions and the city walls, and those houses adorned with high towers, in order to look into the sea, produces a variety that is grand, new, and elegant: but the prospect to the sea is still more delightful; for there you see a noble bay of nine miles diameter, diversified, and enriched with the ships of all nations, whose variety of colours and positions afford amusement for the eye's repose.

In the middle of the city, there is a good square, and their buildings are very well, though not remarkable; the most wealthy merchants having their best houses and warehouses at Port St. Mary's, about three leagues on the other side of the bay, near which place there are a great many good gardens, and considerable plantations of fruit trees.

The cathedral is handsome, and the tabernacle belonging to it cost one hundred thousand crowns: its first inhabitants were Phœnicians, and they were succeeded by the Carthaginians, who, after a long contest, gave way to the Romans.

The city stood upon more ground formerly than it does now; for the remains of old buildings are still to be seen under water, when the tide is low: for this place, in the time of the Ancients, must necessarily have been more extensive, or it could not have contained the numbers recorded to have been in it: for, in the time of Augustus, there were no less than five hundred Roman knights. Their immense riches were attended with suitable luxury, so that the ladies of pleasure that were bred at Cadiz, were looked upon to be the most elegant, gay, free, attracting, and polite; and to have understood the art of making a gallant happy, the best of any women in Europe, and consequently they were in high request, and extremely valuable.

About twelve miles from the city, stood the celebrated temple, dedicated to the Egyptian Hercules, where it is supposed he was buried, and which place is now called St. Petre, and tradition makes him

him the founder of the city. In this temple were two brass pillars, each of which was eight cubits high, upon which was written in Phœnician characters an account of the sums of money expended in building the temple; and that they are supposed to have been the true Hercules's pillars.

When monsieur Mocquet visited this city in one thousand six hundred and fifteen, mistaking the place where the pillars were erected, he says they were composed of tin, gold, and silver, mixed together: that the city was celebrated for the salt-pits, and almadrales, or the fishing for tunny: that in the fields was an old ruined tower, which the Spaniards then called the tower of Hercules, which, says he, was not far distant from the Straits.

The causeway to Cadiz, must have been a noble Roman road, for it reached from Salamanca to Cadiz (5), passing through Merida and Seville, to the distance of above three hundred miles. The latter part of it, from Corduba through Ezija to the sea, was finished in the eleventh consulate of Augustus, as appears by the following inscription (6):

IMP. CAES. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. PONT.

MAX.

COS. XI. TRIBVNIC. POTES. X.

IMP. VIII.

ORBE MARI ET TERRA PACATO.

TEMPLO

JANI CLVSO ET REP. P. R. OPTIMVS.

LEGIBVS

ET SANCTISSIMIS INSTITVTIS

REFORMATA.

VIAM SVPERIOREM COS. TEMPORE

INCHOATAM

(5) Clarke's Spanish Nation, Letter II. p. 206.
Udal ap Rhys, p. 122.

(6) See Mariana, p. 49.

ET MVLTIS LOCIS INTERMISSAM PRO
DIGNITATE

IMPERII P. R. LATIOREM LONGIOREM

QVE

GADEIS VSQ. PERDVXIT.

This road was afterwards repaired by the emperor Adrian, as is plain from a third inscription found in its neighbourhood, i. e. Corduba.

IMP. CÆSAR

DIVI TRAIANI PAR-

THICI F. DIVI NER-

VAE NEPOS TRAIAN-

NVS ADRIANVS

AVG. PONTIF. MAX.

TRIB. POT. V. COS.

III. RESTITVIT.

At Cadiz, says Dr. Clarke, there are some fine pictures of Morellio, particularly an altar-piece, from whence he fell, and lost his life. There are great Roman remains and inscriptions in the high church, and bits of columns every where serving as thresholds and posts: in the corner of one house they have stuck into the wall the remains of a consular toga, and have added to it an head painted red and white, and a green laurel crown: in one convent there is a sarcophagus, with curious marble bas-reliefs: it is now a cistern, and the good fathers have stuck two brass cocks into the bellies of two water-nymphs, who are hence forward condemned to a perpetual diabetes. They discovered lately, i. e. one thousand seven hundred and sixty-three, a beautiful column, which, to prevent trouble and expence, they buried carefully again. The place is plainly a mount, made up of ruins, so that they can hardly stir the ground, but the rubbish turns up something curious.

There

There are some Roman inscriptions at Medina Sidonia: this place was built by the Phœnicians, and had a temple in it to Hercules.

To conclude, Cales, Cadiz, Gades, Gadir, Gadir, was originally built by the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Theban, or, if you will, Tyrian Hercules; for they were one and the same, after he had founded Carteia. It was Hercules who set up the first two pillars of stone; and soon after the Tyrian colony was planted there, who, in the course of their natural commerce, finding it a convenient situation to extend their trade, protect their navigation, and confirm their power, built and settled here a city, which took its name from the island, and erected that famous temple, which first inclosed the two pillars. When Pygmalion sent those rich donatives, the inhabitants still retained some notion of the divine attributes, as is plain from the words of Hiram, king of Tyre, upon the birth of Solomon. The defecrated worship was not properly introduced till Dido diffused it from Carthage to Gades; who flourished in Pygmalion's days, her brother of Tyre; about nine hundred and thirteen years before Christ, and confirmed by those consecrated gifts her brother sent to that famous temple. Though it is plain, that the Tyrians were falling into idolatry, even in Hiram's reign; whose commencement was in the year of the flood one thousand three hundred and two, and before Christ one thousand and forty-six. He dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter, and also built two temples, one to Hercules, another to Astarte; and beautified them with rich donatives. To Hercules he also erected a statue, and is said to have repaired the temples of other gods, and enriched them with offerings to a very great value (7).

This temple, in process of time, was resorted to by the heathen world, from all parts of Asia, Africa, and Europe; for the re-

(7) Menand. Ephes. & Dios, apud Joseph. ubi sup.

ligion of the Carthaginians was of a very gross and multifarious idolatry.

The Tyrians and Carthaginians supposed Hercules to preside over gold, silver, and all sorts of treasures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the island of Thasus (8), where a Phœnician colony being planted, they discovered some gold mines. The Thasians adored him with the same solemnity as the people of Tyre, and had a brazen statue of him ten cubits high, with a club in his right hand, and a bow in his left; in which manner they undoubtedly represented him both at Tyre and Carthage (9). The Pelasgi (1), originally Phœnicians, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had (2), on account of a great scarcity of grain under which they once laboured. The Carthaginians for a considerable time never failed sending to Tyre the first of their revenues, nor the tythe of the spoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, the protector of Tyre and Carthage (3). Public diversions were instituted in honour of him at Tyre, which they celebrated every four years (4). At Carthage, no doubt, the same custom prevailed, as likewise that of offering (5) annually human victims up to him: all which customs were undoubtedly practised at Gadir.

Varro mentions forty-five heroes who bore the appellation of Hercules; but the oldest of them seems to have been the Tyrian or Carthaginian Hercules.

We cannot, says the Universal History (6), help being of opinion, that the Phœnician or Tyrian Hercules was the same with the Egyptian. It appears from Philostratus (7), that the Egyp-

(8) Vid. Wolfgang. Lazium in Græc. Ant. lib. i. c. ii. (9) Idem ibid. Niderst. Melita vetus & nov. lib. ii. c. vi. (1) Strabo. Herodot. Dionys. Halicarn. Epiphan. Boch. Salmas. Grot. Univ. Hist. Vol. vi. p. 139. note (D) and Vol. xvii. B. iv. c. xiii. p. 81. (2) Dion. Halicarn. lib. i. (3) Polyb. in excerpt. legat. (4) Maccab. & Theodoret. lib. semest. ferm. iii. c. ii. (5) Plin. lib. xxxvi. c. vi. (6) Vol. xvii. B. iv. c. xiii. p. 282, note (W). (7) Philost. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. v. c. i. p. 211.

tian Hercules, as well as the Theban, that is, the Phœnician, were worshipped in the same temple at Gadir or Gades; that there were no statues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules, finely wrought; which must naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, (a Phœnician) bearing Smaragdine fruit, of wonderful workmanship, was kept in this temple.

Bishop Cumberland proves (8), that the Phœnician Hercules was a Phœnician king in Egypt; that he found out the purple dye, which is of Phœnician extraction; and that he built the temple on the island near the Straits, to which he gave the Phœnician name Gadir.

Lastly, Sir Isaac Newton renders it evident (9), that the Hercules called Melcartus, who was king of Carteia, had the temple at Gades consecrated to him, as Philostratus intimates the Egyptian Hercules had (1); and that this Hercules was a Phœnician: from whence it may rationally be supposed, that the Phœnician Hercules and that of Egypt were the same.

The word itself is to be sought for from the east, *יֵרְקוֹל* yercol, or ercol, signifying swift and finewy, or strong, being probably the original. That this Hercules was upon the coast of Africa, and according to Orosius, built Capsa there (2). Bishop Cumberland imagines him to have been called Affis or Aziz, that is, the strong, as well as Ercor or Hercules (3). Africanus and Eusebius give him the name of Archles (4). It is probable he was elected king or general of the Phœnicians, on account of the great glory he had acquired (5).

(8) Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 159, 160, in Orig. p. 113, 114, &c. Vid. Palæphatum Ægyptium apud Chron. Alex. & Maneth. apud Euseb. in Chronic. p. 352. (9) Newton's Chronol. p. 111, 112, 113, 114, &c. (1) Philostrat. ubi sup. (2) Oros. lib. v. c. 15. Flor. lib. III. c. i. Sallust. in Jugarth. (3) Cumberl. Orig. p. 113. & Maneth. apud Joseph. cont. Apion. (4) African. & Euseb. in Chronic. Herodot. in Euterp. &c. (5) Newton's Chronol. p. 111.

The Tyrians, says Justin and Orosius, who had founded the city of Gades, and built a temple to Hercules, were so molested by the jealous Spaniards, that they were forced to send to Carthage for help; which being readily granted, Meseus was sent with a fleet to their assistance, who suppressed their enemies, and enlarged their territories, by the reduction of several considerable places along that coast (6). The richness of the country soon invited them to pursue their conquests; and the vast treasures, both in gold and silver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a strong temptation to them (7), as they were engaged in such a bloody and expensive war with the Romans. This was accordingly performed with great success at first, by their great general Hamilcar Barcas in the year of the flood two thousand one hundred and nineteen, and before Jesus Christ two hundred and twenty-nine; and afterwards by his sons Asdrubal and Hannibal, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inspire him with greater hatred against the Romans, and with a more eager desire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the subjection of Carthage. But it would be rather foreign to my plan, to relate the occasion of the first rupture between Rome and Carthage, which happened in Sicily. Let it suffice, that the Carthaginians, when the war first broke out between their republic and that of Rome, were possessed of extensive dominions in Africa; had made considerable acquisitions in Spain; were masters of Sardinia, Corsica, and all the islands on the coasts of Italy; and had extended their conquests to a great part of Sicily.

The above Hamilcar, having completed all his military preparations, advanced with a powerful army to Abyla, the pillar of Hercules on the African side, opposite to the other in Spain called Calpe, between which runs the Fretum Herculeum: this Strait he crossed, and landed in Spain without opposition. He began the

(6) Justin. ex Trog. lib. ult. (7) Diodorus Siculus, lib. vi.

operations by incursions into the enemy's country, fixing his head quarters at Gades, now Cadiz, the capital of the Carthaginian acquisitions in Spain.

According to Diodorus Siculus, after his landing in Spain, he reduced the city of Tartessus, and gave a memorable defeat to Istolatus, general of the Celtes and Iberians, putting a great number of his men, together with himself and his brother, to the sword. Many of the Celtic nobility likewise perished in the action. Out of the prisoners, Hamilcar selected three thousand, whom he incorporated in his own troops: but Indortes, one of the Celtic or Iberian general officers, collecting the remains of the army, and receiving a considerable reinforcement, assembled a body of fifty thousand men, with which he intended to have given Hamilcar battle: which in the end proved his ruin, for his army was either cut off, or obliged to surrender at discretion.

The reader must not be surprised to find such bodies of Celtiberians at this period, when he considers, that it is two thousand years since the flood: a time, full sufficient to people Spain quite to the Calpeian mountain. It plainly appears, that the Carthaginians held only the island of Cales or Gadir; as Hamilcar was obliged to reduce the ancient city of Tartessus, which, with Carteia, was long before wrested out of the Tyrians power; for after this, Hannibal was obliged to reduce the latter: and Medina Sidonia, with the temple of Hercules, were taken from them by these Iberians long before. However, that hero, Hamilcar, commanded in Spain nine years, and, during that interval, subdued many warlike nations there, but was at last killed; and Asdrubal was chosen to succeed him; a pupil of Hamilcar, under whom he had served several campaigns. He built the new city Carthage, now Carthagena.

Asdrubal made great progress in Spain, but was checked by the Romans: and a treaty was concluded between them. Hannibal succeeded Asdrubal. As to this great man's actions, I shall refer
my

my readers to the history of those times. I shall only here observe, that the temple of Hercules was then frequented, and that ancient god of Tyre held in great estimation: for Hannibal having received intelligence, that the Gauls were ready to join him in his march to Italy, and before discharged his vows made to Hercules at Gades, as well as engaged himself by new ones there, provided success attended his arms in the ensuing expedition, he immediately put himself in motion.

While Hannibal was in Italy, Cneius Scipio, with rapid success carried every thing before him in Spain; and upon the fame of his exploits, Livy says, an hundred and twenty different cantons of Spaniards submitted to the Romans, who penetrated as far as the Saltus Castulonensis: Asdrubal retiring before them into Lusitania, and those parts of Spain bordering upon the ocean; Scipio, as I have already said, must have been in possession of Gibraltar bay, because Lælius commanded the Roman fleet that was at Carteia. But, as the Carthaginian power is drawing to an end in Spain, I shall be a little more particular: after Asdrubal's departure for Italy, Hanno was sent to succeed him in Spain: the body of troops this general brought from Africa, in conjunction with that commanded by Mago, the other Carthaginian general, formed a considerable army: however, Scipio defeated them, and took Hanno prisoner. Mago, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his escape, and, ten days afterwards, joined Asdrubal, the son of Gisco. These two commanders, with their united forces, continued for some time in the neighbourhood of Gades (8).

After this, Scipio complimented his brother Lucius Scipio on his reducing the city of Aurinx, on the confines of Lower Bætica, which was a great loss to the Carthaginians. However, Scipio finding the season far advanced, and that he could make no

(8) Liv. Lib. xxviii. sub init. Appian in Ilberic. Eutrop. lib. iii. c. xx. Oros. lib. iv. c. xviii.

impression upon the province in which Gades was seated, since Asdrubal had placed numerous garrisons in all the fortresses there, suspended the military operations till the following spring, when Mago, the son of Hamilcar, and Asdrubal, the son of Gisco, were the Carthaginian generals who commanded in Spain. These two commanders, in the spring, moved from Gades, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, seventy thousand foot, and four thousand five hundred horse. They fought for, and found the Romans, a battle ensued, and the Carthaginians were defeated by Scipio. Asdrubal did his utmost to animate his men, but they were defeated, and pursued to their camp, which had then been taken, had not a violent storm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action (9).

The night after the battle, Asdrubal caused his camp to be strengthened by some additional works, as expecting the next day another visit from the enemy. In the mean time, Attanes, regulus of the Turditani, with a considerable body of troops, went over to the Romans. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortresses of note surrendered to Scipio, who made their garrisons prisoners of war. As the victory lately gained by Scipio had entirely alienated the minds of the Spaniards from the Carthaginians, Asdrubal thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had just before so harassed his wearied and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inaccessible to the enemy. Scipio, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the Carthaginian general, who so galled him in his retreat, that the legionaries at last came up with him, and, after a faint resistance, put all his men, except seven thousand, to the sword. However, these, with Asdrubal at

(9) Polyb. lib. II. Liv. lib. xxviii. c. xii.—xvi. Appian in Iberic. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. II. c. i. ex. 1. & lib. II. c. iii. ex. 4. a lib. LII. c. ix. auctor. sup. laudat.

their head, gained an advantageous post; where, for some time, they defended themselves, till at last Asdrubal, finding them to desert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his escape to Gades. In the mean time Silanus, whom Scipio had left, with a detachment of ten thousand foot, and a thousand horse, to block up the enemy's troops in the port above-mentioned, found means to draw Massinissa, their commander, off from the Carthaginian interest. Mago, after the example of Asdrubal, flying to Gades, the remainder of the African forces either gradually dispersed themselves in the neighbouring provinces, or deserted to the Romans. Massinissa, after his late conference with Silanus, by the connivance of that general, passed over into Africa, with some of the leading men of the Massyli, in order to dispose that nation to second his views. However, this was done in such a manner, as not to give any umbrage to the Carthaginians, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the least suspicion of the measures he was going to pursue (1).

Massinissa, to serve more effectually the party of which he intended soon to declare himself in favour, made but a short stay in Africa. Having prevailed on his subjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he hastened to Gades, to confer with Mago and Asdrubal about the future operations. Silanus likewise retired with his body of forces to Tarraco, where Scipio had fixed his head quarters. Scipio soon afterwards passing into Africa with two quinqueremes, persuaded Syphax, king of the Masæyli to abandon the Carthaginians, and enter into an alliance with Rome. Asdrubal was then at Syphax's court, and did his utmost to traverse the negociation carried on betwixt the two powers, but without effect. The three chief cities of Spain, besides Gades, in alliance with, or subject to, Carthage, were Illiturgis, Castulo, and Astapa.

(1) Liv. ubi sup. c. xv, xvi. Polyb. lib. ii. c. xxi.

Illiturgis the Romans took by storm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the sword. Castulo, in which was a Carthaginian garrison, composed of the fugitives that escaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one Cerdubellus to Marcius, and Hamilco, the commandant, with his whole corps, made prisoners of war. Marcius then passing the Bætis, which the Spaniards called Cirtius, possessed himself of two opulent towns, which surrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to Astapa; and, after a warm dispute, made himself master of it. In the mean time, Mago, having received a reinforcement from Africa, as well as some Spanish troops levied by Hanno, made the proper dispositions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithstanding the melancholy situation of his affairs. A body of Roman forces, encamped upon the Sucro, during these transactions, mutinied; a report of Scipio's death, that was industriously propagated, occasioning that commotion. But the mutineers being, by a seasonable punishment inflicted upon some of their ring-leaders, brought back to a sense of their duty, Marcius attacked four thousand of the enemy encamped upon the Bætis, under the command of Hanno, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greatest part of them. The alliance with Syphax was a point of great consequence to Rome, though it was not effected without some difficulty; Scipio first sent Lælius, with five quinqueremes, to make proposals to that prince, which he ordered him to back with magnificent presents. Lælius executed his commission with great dexterity, putting Syphax in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the Romans. Notwithstanding which, Scipio found himself obliged to visit in person that prince's court; where, by his uncommon address, as Livy writes, he defeated the intrigues of Asdrubal, and put the last hand to the treaty (2).

(2) Idem, *ibid.* Vid. Liv. ubi sup. c. xvii—xxx.

Soon

Soon after the reduction of Astapa, some deserters arrived at Gades from Scipio's camp. These fugitives promised that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the Carthaginian garrison and commandant, into his hands, but likewise to make him master of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. Scipio therefore detached Lælius with a body of light armed troops, assisted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and seven triremes, to put the conspirators in motion. In the mean time, the conspiracy being discovered to Mago, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to seize the principals of it, and sent them on board a quinquereme, in order to transport them to Carthage. Asdrubal, the Carthaginian admiral, ordered the captain of this vessel, as I have already said, to precede the rest of the fleet, he himself following at a small distance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to Carteia, he descried Lælius's squadron coming out of that port. The Carthaginian could not, for some time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him to attack the Romans. But this state of suspense gave Lælius an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worsted, he made the best of his way towards the coasts of Africa, with only five triremes. However, Lælius missed his aim, since Mago had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he had advanced to Gades; of which being apprized by the prisoners, he returned to Carteia: from thence he dispatched an express to Marcius, who was moving with a powerful corps to support him, to inform him of what had happened. Both these commanders, therefore, judging the siege of Gades too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at present, laid aside that design, and, in a short time, rejoined Scipio at New Carthage (3).

(3) Idem, ut sup.

The disappointment which the Romans had met with in their design upon Gades, together with the rebellion of the Ilergetes, and revolt of the legionaries above-mentioned, gave Mago hopes, that he should still be in a condition to make head against the enemy. He therefore wrote to Carthage for a speedy reinforcement, assuring the senate, that if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had lost in Spain. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the Romans, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time Mandonius and Indibilis, being offended at the Romans for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of Scipio's death, pillaged the territories of the Sedetani and Sueffetani, allies of Rome. Hearing afterwards of Scipio's severity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were Romans, they concluded, that Spanish revolters must be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by despair, they assembled a numerous army of Celtiberians, and advanced against Scipio. That general, moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at last found them posted in a plain surrounded on all sides by mountains, and scarce capable of containing such a number of men. Having secured the defile leading into this valley, he detached Lælius, with the cavalry, to take a compass round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilst he charged them in front with the legionaries. This disposition being made, Scipio attacked the reguli, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almost their whole army to the sword (4).

After this the proconsul marched with part of his troops towards Gades, the only city of Spain in the Carthaginian interest. His chief design in this journey was to have an opportunity of conferring with Massinissa, who had shut himself up in that city

(4) Idem.

with

with Mago, and was impatient to have a conference with the Roman general. For though Silanus and Massinissa had settled the preliminaries, yet, by several intervening accidents, the conclusion of a treaty betwixt the Numidian and the Romans, was deferred to this time. The chief obstacle to the signing of it was, that Massinissa could find no opportunity of having an interview with Scipio, which he ardently desired. Scipio being informed of this, and that Massinissa was at Gades, took a journey thither, with a good escort, purely out of a desire to have a conference with him. Massinissa, receiving intelligence of this from Marcius, prevailed upon Mago to send him, with a detachment from the island of Gades, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with Scipio. Every thing being afterwards settled to the mutual satisfaction of both parties, Massinissa, in order to blind Asdrubal, plundered some part of the adjacent country, and then returned to Gades (5).

In this excursion, Massinissa, the Numidian prince, met Scipio, and entered into an alliance with Rome, advising the proconsul to pass over into Africa, and lay siege to Carthage itself, which, he said, would be easily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the proconsul returned to Tarracon, and Massinissa to Gades. Soon after, Mago received orders to leave Gades, and hasten with all his forces to the assistance of Hannibal in Italy. That he might be enabled the more effectually to succour Hannibal, he received a large sum of money to make levies in Gaul and Liguria. Before he left Gades, he not only obliged the citizens to bring all their wealth, but also plundered their temples. As Mago was coasting along Spain in his way to Italy, he formed a rash design of surprising New Carthage; but lost in the attempt eight thousand men, and was repulsed. From thence he sailed to the island Pityusa, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful

(5) Liv. Polyb. Appian. Zonar. ubi sup.

supply of provisions, and a good number of recruits. Then he steered his course to the largest of the Balearic islands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in so violent a manner with their slings, that he found himself obliged to sheer off with considerable loss. However, proceeding to Minorca, that was extremely fertile, though not so populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great strength, and possessed himself of the whole island without opposition. As the season was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he was the more strongly induced by the good disposition of the natives, who expressed all imaginable zeal and affection for the Carthaginians, supplying him, during his stay amongst them, with a body of two thousand men. However, he, from the whole Balearics, forced ten thousand of the inhabitants into the service of his republic. But the people of Gades shut their gates upon Mago after his repulse at New Carthage; for which affront he whipped and crucified their suffetes, who were sent to excuse that conduct to him. The Gaditani therefore surrendered to the Romans, who were now become masters of all Spain: this was in the year of the flood two thousand one hundred and fifty-five, before Christ one hundred and ninety-one, and of Rome five hundred and fifty-five; for the year following, Scipio was chosen consul, which was in the five hundred and fifty-sixth of Rome.

Suetonius, in the life of Cæsar, says, that in his office of quæstor, Spain fell to his lot; where, when by commission from the prætor, he was going the circuit of the province for the administration of justice, and was arrived at Gades, upon sight of a statue of Alexander the Great, in the temple of Hercules, he fetched a sigh; and as if deeply concerned at his former inactivity, because nothing memorable had as yet been done by him, at an age, at which Alexander had conquered the world, he immediately sued for his discharge, in order to lay hold upon the first opportunity,
that

that might present in the city, for greater achievements. And upon his being much disturbed at a dream the night after, wherein he fancied he laid with his mother, the interpreters of dreams filled him with mighty hopes, pretending that the empire of the world was thereby promised him; since the mother, he had seen thus subjected to him, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all men.

Cæsar was appointed to the government of Further Spain, in the year before Christ sixty-one, because the first of the triumvirate was in the sixtieth, before that æra: Further Spain comprehended Lusitania and Bætica, that is, Portugal and Andalusia, which fell to his lot; after his prætorship, he was preparing to set out for his new province; but being stopped by some of his creditors, Crassus, to whom he applied, took upon him to satisfy those creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his security for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred and sixty thousand eight hundred and twelve pounds sterling. Upon this, Cæsar being at liberty to go to his government, set out without delay. In his journey, as he was passing the Alps, he passed by a small village, which had but few inhabitants, and those wretchedly poor; which gave occasion to some of his friends to ask him by way of raillery, whether there was any canvassing there for offices, or any contention among the Barbarians who should be uppermost? To this question Cæsar answered very seriously, "That he had rather be the first man among those poor Barbarians, than the second in Rome." It is easy, says my author, to imagine, that Cæsar, with these sentiments, could not continue idle in this province. To find work there, he made war on the innocent Spaniards, and advancing as far as the ocean, subdued several nations, which had never before been subject to Rome.

Having settled his province in peace, he returned to Rome, carrying with him sufficient sums to discharge his debts, which amounted

amounted to sixteen hundred thousand pounds sterling; so great was his extravagance and profusion.

Plutarch writes, that while Cæsar was on his journey to Gades, as he was one day reading the history of Alexander the Great, he appeared very thoughtful, and at last burst out into tears, answering his friends, who asked him the reason of his grief, "Do you think I have not just cause to weep, when I consider, that Alexander, at my age, had conquered so many nations, while I have yet done nothing that is memorable?"

Whether this and the former is not one and the same story, I shall not take upon me to determine; though it is not at all improbable, but that he might have twice expressed vast uneasiness at his own situation: the first upon reading Alexander's life, and secondly, upon seeing the statue of that prince; when his history brought the actions of that hero, with the person in the statue, to his view.

The situation of Gades was so advantageous for the sea trade, that it drew upon the Tyrians, in process of time, as I have shewn, the envy of other nations, that vied with them either in power or trade: and thus it successively was forced to yield to the greatest power among the nations. And as the Phœnicians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Phocians, Rhodians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, and since them, the Goths and the Moors have possessed it alternately: there perchance would have been no place in the world so full of all sorts of antiquities of so many different nations, had not the ignorance of the Spaniards, and the common fate of war, plunder, rapine, and destruction, robbed us of their greatest part. For, after it had been made a free or municipal city by the Romans, and was, under them, grown to such a height of grandeur, as to have five hundred Roman knights at one time in it, which no other city could boast of, except Padua. The merciless Moors, having conquered Spain, and divided it into several kingdoms, demolished it, by common consent, that it might not remain a perpetual

perpetual bone of contention amongst them: and thus it remained, till recovered by the Christians, who soon restored it to its present dignity.

In one thousand four hundred and eighty four, don Ferdinand meditated the siege of Malaga, but it was postponed till one thousand four hundred and eighty-six: it was then one of the strongest and best peopled places remaining to the Moors; but an attempt being made to corrupt Hamet Zegri, who commanded a large body of Barbary Moors, in the strong castle of Gibralfaro, which commanded the town; Hamet answered, "That he was hired to defend the place, and he would never betray it; and that he hoped this answer would procure him favourable treatment, in case he should be compelled to surrender, after the best defence he should be able to make (6)."

This city was invested completely both by land and sea on the seventh of May, not without very considerable loss on both sides. The Christians continued the siege with vigour for a long time, and the Moors defended themselves with great spirit and patience. In the mean time, Mohammed Al Zagel collected all the troops he could, in order to afford them succours; but he had scarce marched them out of Guadix, before they were attacked by Muly Abul Abdali, by whom the best part of them were cut in pieces (7). Upon this, he sent a present of several horses with rich furniture, with some pieces of cloth of gold and silk, to their catholic majesties, Ferdinand and Isabella, advising them to be very careful in preventing any sort of provisions from being carried into the place, where famine would soon force them to yield; and assured them, that when they were masters, as some say, of Almeria, Baza, and Guadix, they might depend upon his putting Granada into their hands (8). A desperate Moor, however, was very near snatching

(6) Hernando Del Pulgar, Garibay, Ferreras. (7) Luc. Marin. Sicul. Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana. (8) Luc. Marin. Sic.

this conquest out of their hands. He came out of Malaga in the night, and, going to the first guard of the Christian army, demanded to be carried to the marquis of Cadiz. When he was brought to him, he pressed to see their majesties, to whom he said he would discover the means of entering the town. The marquis did not regard him much; but those who were about him carried him to the king's quarter, and brought him to the tent of donna Beatrix de Bobadilla, who was playing at draughts with don Alvaro of Portugal. The Moor, seeing donna Beatrix very richly dressed, made no doubt but she was the queen, and that the person playing with her was the king; upon which, drawing his scymitar, he discharged a blow with all his force on don Alvaro's head. Donna Beatrix fainting and falling down, another blow, that he aimed at her, reached no farther than her sleeve; and, before he had time to strike a third, he was dispatched by those who were in the place (9). The king was asleep, but the queen, being in the next apartment, hearing the noise, came out, and was an eye-witness of this shocking scene. At length Malaga would have capitulated; but the king refused any other terms than surrendering at discretion; to which they were at last forced to submit, and the town was accordingly surrendered on the eighteenth of August (1). By this means many thousands were made slaves, some of the nobility having a hundred, others fifty, for their share, besides those that were sent as presents to the kings of Portugal and Naples (2). About the close of September their majesties returned to Cordova, and went afterwards to spend their winter at Saragossa. So fell Malaga to the Christians, in fourteen hundred and eighty-seven (3).

The last war between the Christians and the Moors in Spain, was commenced and compleated under the victorious arms of

(9) Anton. Neb. & al. (1) Hernando del Pulg. Ferreras. (2) Bernaldez, Garibay. (3) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. XXI. B. XIX. c. i. p. 175, 176.

Ferdinand and Isabella, in the year of Christ one thousand four hundred and ninety-one, in the reduction of the city and kingdom of Granada: which city, says Mariana (4) by reason of its situation, largeness, fort, walls, and bulwarks, seemed impregnable. On the west side of it is a large plain about fifteen leagues in compass, pleasant and fruitful, as well of its own nature as by reason of the blood that had been there shed for many years, which made it fat: besides that thirty-six springs running down from the mountain Elvira, where formerly stood the city Eliberis, as appears by the name Elvira. The snowy mountain called Sierra Nevada, lies on the south side of it, and runs down as far as the Mediterranean sea. The sides of it are not steep or craggy, and are therefore cultivated and well peopled. The city itself is seated partly upon the plain, and partly upon two hills; betwixt them runs the river Darro, which, as soon as out of the city, mixes with and loses its name in the river Zenil, that runs quite across the plain in length. The walls are very strong, there being upon them one thousand and thirty towers at distances, that are very beautiful for their number and good structure. Formerly it had seven gates, now twelve. It cannot well be inclosed all round, because of its great extent, and the unevenness of its ground.

Towards the plain where the access is easiest, it is fortified with towers, and bulwarks: in that part stands the cathedral, then a mosque, but nothing curious or beautiful. It is held in great veneration by all the neighbouring people, and famous not so much for its riches, as the number and piety of clergy belonging to it.

Near this church is the great market place, called Bavarambla, two hundred feet in breadth, and six hundred in length. The buildings are in a strait line; the shops and streets about the square, beautiful.

(4) Vid. Hist. Spain. Vid. Description of Granada.

Of two castles that belong to the city, the chief lies betwixt the east and west, encompassed with a wall of its own, and stands above the other buildings. It is called Alhambra, that is, red, from the colour of the earth about it, and is so big, it looks like a city. In it is the royal palace, and monastery of St. Francis, the burial place of the marquis de Ynigo de Mendoza, the first governour of it.

King Mahomet Mir laid the first foundation of this castle; other kings continued the work, and was at length finished by king Joseph Bulhagix, as appears by the Arabic inscription over the gate on a marble stone; signifying the work was finished by that king in the year one thousand three hundred and forty-six of Christ, and of the Moorish account, the Hejira, one hundred and forty-seven.

This same king built the castle of Albaizin, opposite to this castle: and between them lies the city. The suburbs called Chuna, and the street De los Gomeles, is on the side of the Alhambra. On the other side, is the street Elvira, and the ascent of Zenete most ill contrived, the streets narrow and crooked, because the Moors were not at all curious in their houses.

Without the city, is the royal hospital and monastery of St. Heirome, the sumptuous burial place of Gonçalo Fernandez, called the great captain. It is reported the city contained sixty thousand houses, a number scarce credible. What is most to be admired, is what is found of pope Clement the fifth's, being informed by the ambassadors of king Jayme the second of Arragon, assuring him, that of two hundred thousand souls, then living in Granada, scarce five hundred were children and grand-children of Moors. In particular, they said there were fifty thousand renegados, and thirty thousand Christian slaves.

At present it is certain there are in that city twenty-three parishes, and chapels of ease. But, says my author, it is hard to tell the number of inhabitants. And it is also certain, that
in

in the time of the Moorish kings, the revenue of that kingdom was seven hundred thousand ducats, a great sum for those times, but credible, because of the heavy taxes: all men paid the seventh part of what they were worth. If any Moor died, without any children, the king was his heir; if he left heirs, the king had as good a share as any of them.

When I travelled into Spain with colonel William Denny, late governour of Pennsylvania, I drew a plan of the Alhambra, and particularly described that castle, palace, and city; but unluckily those descriptions, plans, with many manuscripts, maps, plans, views, curiosities, and a choice library, chiefly collected for my Phœnician history, were burnt on the first of November, one thousand seven hundred and sixty-five, with all the apparel of my family, and the whole furniture of my house, commonly called Vaux-hall, by the inhabitants of New York, on account of the stamp act.

A late author gives us the following account of this city (5):
“ It stands, says he, at the foot of a most noble ridge of barren
“ mountains and rocks, which stretch round on each side, in such
“ a manner as to embrace a lovely plain, which is varied with
“ plantations, gardens, and villages: had it but a river, like the
“ Guadalquivir, nothing could exceed it, unless it were an
“ English prospect of the Thames from Cliefden, or the Trent
“ from Clifton.”

The Al-Hambra, at Granada, is built on a high hill, which over-looks the city and the valley, containing many grand apartments, all in the Moorish style, with alcoves, domes, fountains, Arabic inscriptions, &c. besides which there is a part built by Charles the fifth, but not finished. The front is handsome for this country, and the apartments are built round a very beautiful circular court, with thirty-two fine marble columns below, and as many above in a gallery. Not far from it, there is a delicious

(5) Clarke's Spanish Nation, Letter XI. p. 208, and published since I was in that country.

garden of the Moorish kings, called the Gnihalariffie, with all kinds of trees, flourishing upon a steep-hanging rock, and as much water as supplies numberless Jet-d'eaux and fountains. The rides round the city are delightful.

I mention this place, being the last from whence the Moors were driven; as the hill of Gibraltar was the first place they possessed themselves of, to build a castle and town for their security and residence.

THE

THE
H I S T O R Y
OF THE
HERCULEAN STRAITS.

B O O K II.

C H A P. I.

OF AFRICA, MAURITANIA, TINGIS, ANTÆUS, ATLAS; OF THE
CANAANITES; OF CEUTA, ABILA; AND OF THE STRAITS.

I MUST now cross from Spain over the Straits of Gibraltar into Barbary; the Mauritania Tingitana, from Tingis, or Tingi, the metropolis, and a city of great antiquity.

According to Mela, Solinus, and Pliny, Antæus, cotemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the first foundation of it.

Antæus and Atlas were one and the same person, and the son of Neptune; and therefore Neptune was the first prince of this country: all which carries us back to the days of Abraham; because Hercules flourished, and overcame Antæus in Africa, and the Geryons in Spain, about the fifth century. After this, the Gergefites, Jebusites, and other Canaanitish nations, or tribes, erected a castle in Tingis, but the city was built by Neptune's son Atlas, or Antæus. The oblique cases of the word Atlas, to wit (1), Atlantis, Atlante, &c. are apparently compounded of

(1) Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xv. p. 202. note (A).

the names Atlas, or Atal, i. e. tall, lofty, &c. and Ante, Antæus, which is a presumptive proof, that they both belonged to the same person, and consequently, that Atlas and Antæus were the same king of Mauritania: the word Atal answers very well to the stature of Antæus, according to Pliny and Plutarch (2).

Plutarch writes, that the Africans reported to Sertorius, that Antæus was buried in Tingis, a giant of a wonderful stature; but Sertorius being unwilling to trust common fame, which gave out that his body was of a most prodigious length, caused his sepulchre to be opened, where he found his corpse of an amazing length; he was exceedingly astonished, and immediately offered up sacrifices to the gods, and closed up the tomb again, whereby he confirmed the report of the inhabitants, increased the fame of the sepulchre, and added new honours to the fame of Antæus: that the Africans further alledge, that after the death of Antæus, his wife Tinga lived with Hercules, and had a son by him called Sophax, who was king of these countries, and gave his mother's name to this city, whose son also was Diodorus, a great conqueror, who subdued many other regions, and brought the greatest part of Africa under his subjection with an army of Greeks, which he raised out of the colonies of the Olbianians and Myceneans, placed here by Hercules. I mention, says Plutarch, these passages for the sake of king Juba, the most excellent historian of any prince that ever yet had honoured history with his own pen, and who numbers for his progenitors a long race of Mauritanian kings, who derive their genealogies from Diodorus and Sophax, and are lineally descended from Hercules (3).

Among the curiosities of Mauritania, where are several remarkable ruins of Roman antiquities still remaining, is a narrow descent of many fathom deep, a few miles from Tangier, which leads into a sort of cave, from whence are passages into subterranean apart-

(2) Cumberl. in Sanch. p. 727. Pliny, lib. v. c. ii. Plut. in Sertor. (3) Plut. in Sertorius, Vol. v. p. 136, 137.

ments,

ments, designed undoubtedly by the Ancients as repositories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and statues with Punic inscriptions upon them.

Some have imagined, that Antæus was buried in the cave; and a vulgar report prevailed, that the cave went quite under the Straits to St. Michael's cave on the west side of Mons Calpe, which shall be treated on in due time.

I find there was a small island called Gezira, or rather Jezeirah, in the river Lixus, that empties itself into the Atlantic, to the southward of Tangier, about three leagues (according to Marmol and Leo) from the sea, and thirty from the city of Fez. Pliny writes, that, in his time, this island abounded with olives, and intimates, that the Ancients placed the gardens of the Hesperides here: he further relates, that there was an altar, sacred to Hercules, still remaining in it when he wrote. Aldrete believes that this island, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in process of time, laid entirely under water, and at last converted into that lake called by the Spaniards Laguna Grande, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of Larache.

I shall only mention, that the *Insulæ Beatæ*, or *Fortunatæ*, of Statius Sebosus, Juba, Pliny, and Strabo, are the Canary islands, and are seven in number, situated in the same parallel with the southern parts of Mauritania, according to Strabo.

Homer's description of them seems to point them out, without attention to those authors too fond of their country, as to place them, where stern winter rather frowns than smiles:

Elysium shall be thine; the blissful plains,
Of utmost earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns:
Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year.
Stern winter smiles on that auspicious clime:
The fields are florid with unfading prime.

From.

From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy snow;
But from the breezy deep the blest inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the western gale.

Tangier is in $60^{\circ} 30'$ west longitude from London, and in north latitude $35^{\circ} 56'$. Tangier derived its name from the Phœnicians, who, with the Carthaginians, called it Tingir, Tiggir, Tagger, &c. which, in their language, signified an emporium: this region, as well as others to the east of it, had many colonies planted in it by the Phœnicians. Procopius tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white stone were to be seen there, with the following inscription in the Phœnician language and character upon them: WE ARE THE CANAANITES, THAT FLED FROM JOSHUA, THE SON OF NVN, THAT NOTORIOUS ROBBER; and many authors follow Procopius in this respect. Procopius was secretary to the emperor Justinian, who came in partnership with his uncle Justin in the five hundred and twenty-seventh year of Christ, and of Rome one thousand three hundred and seventy-four, and of the flood two thousand eight hundred and seventy-eight, and died in the five hundred and sixty-sixth of our redemption. Now the land of Canaan was divided by Joshua in the year of the flood nine hundred and four, and one thousand four hundred and forty-four years before Christ; which, reckoning from the very first year of Justinian's copartnership, five hundred and twenty-seven of Christ, it will be found, that the Canaanites settled in Tangier, or near it, about one thousand nine hundred and seventy-one years before Procopius visited these pillars, and about four hundred years after the days of Hercules's flourishing over Atlas and the Geryons.

These Canaanites fled to avoid the conquering arms of Joshua; and this is what the learned Bochart has taken great pains to prove (4); and if Procopius saw those pillars, there can be no

(4) Præfat. in lib. de colon. & sermon. Phœnic.

doubt

doubt made but great multitudes fled from the conquering sword of the Hebrew general, though not perhaps in such large numbers, or on so many countries as Bochart supposes: and where is the improbability or wonder, says the Universal History (5), that they should flee from certain ruin, who were seated so near the Philistines not yet subdued, and from thence might easily embark themselves in search of more peaceable habitations. Besides Procopius, there is Ibnu Rachich, or Ibnu Raquiq, an African writer cited by Leo, Euric's prime minister, who died in the year of Christ four hundred and eighty-four; and therefore about that time Leo wrote, about forty-three years before Procopius: also Evagrius and Nicephorus Callistus assert the same thing: the former lived in the year of Christ three hundred and seventy, &c. This city of Tangier is very near the Straits of Hercules, at the bottom of a gulf of the western shore: but the cape Cotes, Cottes, or Ampelusia, not far from Tingis, seven miles to the westward, as taken notice of by Mela, Ptolemy, and Strabo, and is by us called Cape Spartel, which with Cape Trafalgar on the coast of Spain, almost opposite, shape their shores together, towards the entrance of the Fretum Herculeum, the narrowest part of which being between the lands about Tarifa in Spain, and the opposite shore in Barbary.

From Mela and Bochart it appears, that Cottes and Ampelusia were words of the same import in the Phœnician and Greek languages, and that they were deduced from the grapes with which the promontory abounded.

The mountains opposite to Gibraltar, are, upon the projection of Africa, called Ceuta, the Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphi of Ptolemy, almost contiguous to Abila, now Apes hill, a large unweildy mountain, retired some distance within the bowels of Mauritania.

(5) Univ. Hist. Vol. III. B. I. c. vii. p. 479. n. (A).

The first maritime town to the eastward of Tingis, seems to be the Exiliffa of Ptolemy. Marmol takes the Ceuta of the Moderns to correspond with this place; as it does likewise, in all probability, with the Septa and Arx Septensis of Procopius. That author, together with Isidorus Hispalensis, and others, insinuates this name to have been derived from the seven hills, called the Septem Fratres by Mela, in its neighbourhood. Exiliffa, Septa, or Ceuta, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the Goths; and is, ever since it has been in the possession of the Spaniards, to the Moors, as Gibraltar is to the Spaniards, a place of envy, and what both Moors and Spaniards would be glad to recover: but as they are both impregnable, it is impossible for those people to accomplish their most ardent wishes.

The present town of Ceuta I place to the Goths; the Septa, built to the eastward, on a hill, one of the seven brothers, the Septem Fratres, near the end of this African peninsula, as may be seen by the remains of the walls and towers, now visible, which encircle that hill, on the top of which is a small watch, or lookout tower, where there is a centinel placed, to make signals of the motions of the Moors; from which place may be discovered all the country of Ceuta, the enemy's camp, traverses they may make, the country of Barbary, the Straits, Gibraltar, Andalusia, Mediterranean sea, and mountains of Granada.

The more ancient town is twelve hundred yards S. W. of the Glacis on the isthmus of Ceuta, between which, the Moors carry on their approaches, and keep the garrison in perpetual blockade. This ancient village has been ruined long since, and situated in the bottom of a mountain, which speaks its antiquity; and where still remains some of the old walls. I refer the reader to the following plan.

As for Mons Abila, the Apes hill of the Moderns, I have almost said sufficiently of that in the first part of this work: I shall only observe, that it very justly took its name from its height, as
Aldrete

Aldrete and Bochart have evinced; for the mountains upon the Straits are nothing near so high; Calpe is not to compare with it, in this respect; and the Septem Fratres are but dwarfs to it. The Abila is a huge irregular mountain, or mountains huddled together, as it appears to the eye in the Calpe Carteian bay, now of Gibraltar, retired from the shore, and rising in huge rugged masses. The snow lies a long while upon some parts of it in large patches, when the winters are severe: it has many deep indentures, that even in summer, throw large shadows from the perpendicular precipices into the retired hollows. There appear valleys and precipices from the base almost to the summit, part consists of bare perpendicular rocks, and part bears trees; the mountain retires from precipices to levels, on many parts of it, and seems to agree with that beautiful and picturesque description, which Dr. Shaw gives of that remarkable chain of hills called mount Atlas, in the Mauritania, which, according to Orosius, separated the fruitful land from the barren, or in the stile of the natives, the Tel from the Sahara.

The doctor says, "That the part of this long-continued ridge
 " of mountains which fell under his observation, in height could
 " not stand in competition either with the Alps or Apennines:
 " he says, that if we conceive a number of hills, usually of the
 " perpendicular height of four, five, or six hundred yards, with
 " an easy ascent, and several groves of fruit and forest-trees, rising
 " up in a succession of ranges one behind another, and that if to
 " this prospect we here and there add a rocky precipice of a superior
 " eminence, and difficult access, and place upon the side or
 " summit of it a mud-walled Dashkrah, or village of the Kabyles,
 " we shall then have a just and lively idea of these mountains."

The reader must observe, that Abila seems to carry this appearance, though the mountain is more elevated, and the precipices higher, as they appear to the eye on Mons Calpe: for I do not pretend to describe what I have not seen.

Nothing very remarkable happened in Mauritania Tingitana, from the death of Antæus to the Roman times, till the time of Sylla, when, on the first advantages gained by him in Italy, the brave Sertorius, who had been appointed by the Marian faction, prætor in Spain, retired thither to secure that country: his affable and obliging behaviour so gained the affections of the nobility and people, that all Spain declared for him. Sylla sent Caius Annius with a powerful army against Sertorius, who waited for Annius at the narrow passes of the Pyrenees, which he did so effectually, that Annius, upon his arrival, finding it impossible to open himself a way into Spain, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what course to take.

But Sertorius was at length driven from thence by Annius, retiring with three thousand men to New Carthage, from whence he passed over to Africa, and landed in Mauritania; but while his men were straggling about with too much security, the Barbarians fell upon them, and put many of them to the sword. This new misfortune forced Sertorius to sail back to Spain; but finding the whole coast lined with Annius's men, he put to sea again, not knowing what course to steer. At some distance from the coast, he fell in with a small fleet of Cilician pirates, who were cruising between Africa and Spain, and having prevailed upon them to join him, in hopes of booty, he sailed for the island of Pityusa, now Yvica, where he made a descent, over-powered the garrison placed there by Annius, and got a considerable booty. This slight advantage brought Annius in person upon him, with a great fleet, having five thousand soldiers on board. Though Sertorius's fleet consisted of vessels not built for strength, but for lightness, he made ready to engage the enemy: but a violent storm arising, most of the ships were driven against the rocky shore, and dashed to pieces: Sertorius himself, with the small remains of his shattered fleet, being prevented by the fury of the weather from putting to sea,

sea, and by the enemy from landing, was tossed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the sea ran very high, in great danger of perishing with all his men.

As soon as the storm was over, he passed the Straits of Gades, and landed near the mouth of the Bætis: there he met with some seamen newly arrived from the Atlantic, or Fortunate Islands, and was so taken with the account they gave him of those happy regions, that being quite tired out with many fatigues and dangers both by sea and land, he resolved to retire thither, and spend his life in peace and quietness, far from the noise of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no sooner communicated his design to the Cilician pirates, than they abandoned him; and choosing rather to rove about the seas in quest of spoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, set sail for Africa, to assist Ascalis, king of Mauritania, against his rebellious subjects. Sertorius, who only entertained a faint desire of a quiet and retired life, no sooner heard of this new war in Africa, than he likewise resolved to sail thither, and join the enemies of Ascalis: he lost no time, but immediately put to sea, and landing on the coast of Mauritania, marched directly against Ascalis, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of Tongis, Tingis, now Tangier, which he closely besieged. In the meantime, Pacianus, whom Sylla had sent to assist the king, advanced against Sertorius at the head of a considerable army: upon which the brave general, leaving part of his forces before the place, marched with the rest to meet Pacianus, whose forces, though far superior to his own in number, he entirely defeated, slew the general himself, and took the whole army prisoners: after this victory, he not only reduced the city of Tingis, but made himself absolute master of the whole country. Having thus delivered the oppressed Mauritani-
ans from the tyrannical yoke of Ascalis, he restored to them their estates, their cities, their laws, and their
privileges,

privileges, accepting only of such acknowledgments as the people freely offered him (6).

However, his reputation flew cross the sea: the Lusitanians, being threatened with a new war from Annius, sent and invited him into Spain: and putting to sea, steered his course across the Herculean Straits towards Lusitania: in his passage he happened to fall in with a Roman fleet, commanded by Cotta, but having forced his way through it, he arrived safe on the Lusitanian coast, landed his men, and marched strait to mount Ballera, the place of the general rendezvous. I am not writing his life, it being foreign to my plan: I only mention the actions of this great man, on the Mauritanian and Spanish coasts upon the shores of the Fretum Gaditanum, or Tingitanum. I refer the reader to Plutarch; Bogud too, who was cotemporary with Julius Cæsar, and his adopted son Octavius, contributed in conjunction with Publius Sittius not a little to Cæsar's great success in Africa, and at Munda in Spain. He sided with Anthony against Octavius, but was defeated by Bocchus, who took possession of Tingitana. Octavius, or Augustus, afterwards confirmed this his acquisition, and honoured the inhabitants of Tingis with the privileges of Roman citizens. After Bocchus's death, Tingitana was reduced to the form of a Roman province.

Augustus gave the younger Juba the two Mauritanias, and Claudius sent thither a Roman army, which was the first that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no exploits the first campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the senate persuaded Claudius to accept of triumphal honours for the success of his arms in Mauritania.

The following year, Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount

(6) Plut. in Sertorius, Vol. v. p. 134, 135, 136.

Atlas, and penetrated into Gætulia; which, in Pliny's time, possessed a considerable part of Tingitana. Philostratus makes the Gætulians to have inhabited the interior part of mount Abinna, or Abila, and consequently, by intermixing them with the Maurusii, allows some of them to have dwelt in towns, for the Gætulians generally dwelt in tents.

Sidius Geta, who succeeded Paulinus, gave Salabus, the Mauritanian general, two overthrows, and pursued him into the Sahara, or desert: having been supplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of perishing. Geta concluded a peace with Salabus upon his own terms: it is thought probable, that by this treaty, Mauritania was delivered up entirely into the hands of the Romans, since it is found to have been soon after divided into two provinces, the one called Tingitana, or Mauritania Tingitana, from the city Tingis, and the other Mauritania Cæsariensis, from Cæsar, a surname which Claudius had in common with the other Roman emperours. That prince appointed two Roman knights to preside over these provinces: soon after, the Romans routed a body of Gætulians, that infested some parts of Numidia, and thereby restored tranquillity to all their African dominions. It is observable, that Augustus settled nine colonies, and Claudius three only here, which in a region of so vast an extent, could neither have sufficient power thoroughly to subjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the Romans (7).

I shall embark for the rapid Strait of Gibraltar, and endeavour to explain the currents setting in, and running, though hardly perceptible, as high as Cape de Gate; and no higher up the Mediterranean, which has been looked upon as a strange phænomenon.

The Philosophical Transactions (8), treating of the currents at the Straits' mouth, communicated by Dr. Hudson,

(7) Plin. lib. v. c. i. & alib. Dio. lib. xl. Aldret. lib. iv. c. xx. (8) Phil. Transf. Numb. ccclxxxv. p. 191.

give the following remarks: Cape Spartel, and Cape Trafalgar, from the western ocean, are known to make the Straits' mouth, from whence a current in the middle of the channel (which is about five leagues broad) betwixt the Barbary and Spanish land, runs at least two miles each hour, as far as Ceuta point; and there the two coasts opening about eighteen leagues distant from each other, the current does not run above one mile an hour, and so continues as far as Cape de Gate, which is seventy leagues up the Mediterranean. Our mariners observe a current to set to the western sea, or the great ocean, from Ceuta, along the Barbary shore; and, from Gibraltar, along the Spanish shore; but that on the Barbary shore is generally their common rout, not only as being the most free from rocks and less dangerous, but by reason that the tide is much stronger than it is on the other side, which the sooner helps the ships out of the Straits, which are the narrowest betwixt the points of Gibraltar and Ceuta: at which last place, a neck of land extends itself a considerable way into the sea; and it is this gentleman's opinion, and that of others, that whereas the current runs, as above-said, two miles an hour against this neck of land, the water there meets with so violent an opposition in its passage, as occasions it to rebound with so much force, that part of it returns back along the same coast, and so out of the Straits' mouth, which, with the small tide that sets out on the Spanish shore, it is believed, may exhaust a considerable part of that current, which continually sets in, to the eastward, at the rate I have already mentioned. What I look upon to be very remarkable, is that in the year one thousand seven hundred and twelve, monsieur de L'aigle, that fortunate and generous commander of the privateer called the Phoenix of Marseilles, giving chase, near Ceuta Point, to a Dutch ship bound for Holland, he came up with her in the middle of the gut, or Straits, betwixt Tarifa and Tangier, and there gave her one broad-side, which directly sunk her, all her men being saved by the means of monsieur de

de L'aigle; and a few days after, the sunk ship, with her cargo of brandy and oil, arose on the shore near Tangier, which is, at least, four leagues to the westward of the place where she sunk, and directly against the strength of the current; which has persuaded many men, that there is a recurrency in the deep water in the middle of the gut, that sets outwards to the grand ocean, which, I think, this accident very clearly demonstrates; and possibly, a great part of the water, which runs into the Straits, returns that way, and along the two coasts, which I have already mentioned; otherwise, this ship of course must have been driven towards Ceuta, and so upwards. I was at Gibraltar, continues this gentleman, when this happened, where I saw above one hundred of the butts of that cargo of brandy, which were sent thither from Tangier: I likewise spoke with the captain of the Dutch ship, who told the governour, myself, and many others, where his vessel sunk; and her rising afterwards at Tangier, appeared very unaccountable to us, as it does to me to this day; for there is no doubt but the ship sunk where the Dutchman told us, since the Spaniards from the land, who saw it, confirmed it to us. The water in the gut must be very deep, several of the commanders of our ships of war having attempted to sound it with the longest lines they could contrive, but could never find any bottom.

Again: this rapid and constant indraught from the Atlantic ocean into the Mediterranean, (which I have been informed by experienced captains of ships) runs in, at the rate of four miles an hour: which current loseth its strength so at cape de Gate (so called, as father Mariana observes, from the many agates there found) as has afforded many conjectures: some imagining a constant current setting in without any return the same way, believing a communication from the Euxine to the Caspian, which has a subterranean one into the Persian gulf; and others say, into the Red sea; whilst there are those who think, that there is an under current, which sets out whilst the upper one runs in: again, there

are some who believe, that the indraught returns back on each side of the main stream: for my part, I cannot pretend to give my opinion, because, in the first place, it was out of my power to make any observations on the current, and in the next place, because I never could get any satisfactory account from any seafaring men, or others: however, I find in the Universal Magazine for the month of July one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, a particular account of the tide in the Straits of Gibraltar, which hypothesis I cannot help inserting; although I must confess, that I adhere to the *Miscellanea Curiosa*, as was presented to the Royal Society by Dr. Halley, F. R. S. I begin, says this gentleman, in the magazine (9), with the pilot's observations on the tide in this Strait: "At Tangier and Tarifa, says he, a S. W. by S. moon or $V\frac{1}{4}$: all the other parts of the Straits' mouth have flood out of the west, which runs in from cape Spartel, and cape Trafalgar on each side, along by the shore much stronger than in the middle; to the eastward, as far as cape Cabrita, on the Spanish side, and Apes hill on the Barbary side; and at these two points, meets the flood that cometh out of the N. E. about the point of Gibraltar, and runs S. W. into the Straits' mouth all the first quarter flood; and the remainder of the tide, the flood setteth from the point of Gibraltar towards cape Cabrita.

"At the top of high water, there cometh always out of the west, between the two capes, a race of a current, which spreadeth the Straits' mouth from side to side, but continues on neither, seldom longer than half an hour; but in the middle of the Straits' mouth, the current runs to the eastward very strong all the tide of ebb; and the race of a current falleth always between Apes hill, and cape Cabrita at a W. by S. moon; and at that instant begins the ebb, on the west side of those two points, to run to the eastward.

(9) Vid. Mar. Hist. Spain, lib. i. c. ii. p. 2. Vid. Univ. Mag. for 1753, p. 25, 26, 27, 28.

“ The tide of ebb, on the Spanish coast, runs from cape Cabrita,
 “ about two leagues broad from the shore, as far as the island of
 “ Tarifa, and runs between the island and the main, all the ebb,
 “ along by the shore, towards cape Trafalgar; but on the south
 “ side of the island the ebb runs very narrow, except it be in a
 “ set of fair weather.

“ The tide of ebb, on the Barbary side, runs from Apes hill,
 “ but narrow along the shore, as far as the point of Alcafar; but
 “ on the west side point, athwart of the bay, the tide runs about
 “ three miles broad; and at the cape Malabata, which is the eastern-
 “ most point of the bay of Tangier, about two miles broad; and
 “ so continues to the westward, out to cape Spartel; and from
 “ thence the ebb runs S. W. along the shore towards Sallé.

“ The ebb, to the eastward of cape Cabrita and Apes hill, is
 “ begun by the aforesaid race of current, which spreadeth from
 “ the one side to the other, between Gibraltar and Ceuta point;
 “ and runs in E. N. E. in the middle, from the point of Apes hill to
 “ the point of Ceuta, along the shore, all the first half tide; and
 “ the remaining half tide, the current runs from cape Cabrita, E.
 “ S. E. into the Straits' mouth, by the point of Ceuta; and from
 “ the point of Gibraltar, the first half ebb runs N. E. into them
 “ towards cape Frangerola.” Thus far the pilot's observations: his
 delineation of the Straits' mouth, with regard to its five-
 fold tract of currents, is, as I have described in the foregoing map;
 now, to inspect this table of the tides, for the periods of their
 floods and ebbs, upon every line; first from the line B, to the
 African shore, the tide begins to flow eastward, at ten hours, and
 ebbs at the westward at four h. and from the line C, on the Spa-
 nish coast, it begins to flow to the westward at eleven h. and to
 ebb also to the westward at five h. yet between the offing lines
 T T on the one side, it flows not to the eastward till one h. and
 ebbs not to the westward till seven h. and between the offing lines
 O O on the other side, it begins not to flow to the eastward till

two h. nor ebbs to the westward till eight h. while the middle current still flows to the eastward, at near the same height without intermission. Seeing therefore all these floods and ebbs are stirred up and let fall again by the same flux and reflux of one single wave, or tumour of the sea, yet no two of either sort being seen to rise or subside at the same time; the question is, how they become so differently disposed to reoppose its impulse?

First, then, The coasting streams, which first receive its influence, are best disposed for that purpose, as having no special inclination of their own to resist it, nor depth of water for any impression to be made, but floating upon shallow and shoally bottoms, are easily stirred, and soon appeased, like shallow lakes, upon every wind that blows, or calm that shall happen, and so must take the first notice of any commotion.

On the contrary, the middle current having fall enough to direct its flux to the eastward, and channel of ten leagues to continue it the same; having also depth of water to roll forward, and the Atlantic ocean to keep it supplied to its full height, without impediment of coast or shore, to deflect its course, or lessen its speed, must suffer no dependence on the moon to hinder its precipitation; but the offing floods interposing between the two extremes, must partake of both by their mutual coherence; the inconstancy of the one, so as to ebb and flow by lunar influence, and with all the steadiness of the other, not to be wrought upon over hastily; but as it is three hours later in receiving the tidal impression, so to preserve it as much longer; but yet as all these different motions being regulated by the tides at a fix hourly revolution, so at every fix hours end to make, by a timely ebb, restitution: and

First the pilots observe, That the coasting stream, on the Spanish side, that begins to flow at eleven h. and should continue so till five h. makes high water at Tarifa an hour and a half sooner: Secondly, The coasting tide, near the African shore, which begins
to

to flow at ten h. and should ebb at four h. continues running till five h. Thirdly, That the offing floods, which begin not to swell till one h. and two h. and should flow till seven h. and eight h. yet fall with the general ebb, between cape Cabrita and Apes hill, at five h. Lastly, That the tide from the N. E. both flows and ebbs to the westward out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic, whose situation must be higher to give the middle current the quite contrary motion: now to reconcile the pilot's calendar to his observation, and both to truth, in the points aforesaid.

Concerning the first point, to wit, That the tide which came from the N. E. and began to flow at eleven h. and boldly entered the Straits' mouth to S. W. at the dead ebb, for the first quarter of its flood; (till the remainder was deflected from the point of Gibraltar, to W. S. W. by the springing western tide, towards cape Cabrita, and thence to Tarifa) made high water there at two h. $\frac{1}{2}$ that is, two hours and a half before five h. when according to the pilot's tide table, it should have begun its ebb: ans. But the sea was full at tide there, as the coasting channel was straitest; and withal an island objected to its course when its flux was most brisk, and had water enough to result at its first appulse higher than the stream was able to maintain, after the energy of that push was over, though it continued to flow afterwards to its full time. The same tidal tumour that came from the N. E. makes also full sea at Tangier on the opposite coast of Barbary, near the same time, having passed from Ceuta point, by Apes hill and cape Alcasar, as far as cape Malabata, where the coast most straitens, and rocks oppose it; and withal the western flood occurs, to swell it as high at Tangier, as it rose before at isle Tarifa, yet with this difference, that the tide of ebb continued its course to the westward; beyond cape Trafalgar; whereas this eastern flood is borne to the eastward whence it came by the current out of the west, before it reaches cape Spartel towards the ocean, to complete its six hours ebb.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is observed, that the coasting tide, on the African side, which begins to flow at ten h. and has but till four h. allowed it to its ebb by the tide table, yet continues running to the eastward till five h. at least: answ. That the first of the tide is carried to the eastward so far by the common current out of the west, while the hinder end of its flood is upon an ebb, after the said allowance is expired; as sea floods in fresh rivers ebb near the sea, while they flow to the landward at a greater distance.

Thirdly, That the offing floods, which begin not to swell till one h. and two h. in the afternoon, and ought to flow till seven h. and eight h. at night, yet fall between cape Cabrita and Apes hill at five h. in the evening, with the general ebb of the western flood, in all parts of the Straits' mouth, at once: answ. Notwithstanding this, they continue their flux to the eastward, to their stated terms of six hours a-piece, though they cannot re-advance the tide to that great height it had before, and they return not their stream of ebb till it be withdrawn by the tidal reflux of the ocean, which set it on foot so late, and was as long withdrawing its motion, which was done with equal difficulty both ways, and consequently must be performed in the same space of time.

Fourthly, That the aforesaid N. E. tide both flows and ebbs along the Spanish shore perpetually to the westward, quite contrary to the middle current, which runs without any tideals ups and downs, as constantly to the eastward; and consequently from the higher situation of the Atlantic, into the lower of the Mediterranean sea, which seems to render the contrary motion of the tide impossible. To make those opposite fluxes consistent, it suffices that the Mediterranean flood advances above the Atlantic ebb, to convert their courses; nor does the flux of the middle current intermix at low water, nor exceed when it is highest in the Atlantic, but observes the mean betwixt them, as the spout of a pump keeps to a constant stream, though the water in the tube rises and falls at every stroke ten or twelve inches, yet the side streams some-
times

times exceed the speed of the middle current, between cape Cabrita and the congress height. Hence it is observed,

Fifthly, That the tidal flood out of the west, runs more strongly from betwixt cape Trafalgar and cape Spartel, than the middle current, which observes a mean between the highest flood and the lowest ebb; and follows the shores of Spain and Barbary, till it meets the N. E. flood, between cape Cabrita and Apes hill, where they counter-swell each other, till the water is full through the Straits' mouth (Tarifa and Tangier excepted) till five h. that the Atlantic flood, which made high water on the promontories of Ireland, France, and Spain at three h. and filled their ports at four h. now reacheth the Straits' mouth, and fills all full at five h. and bears down the eastern ebbing, which dammed up their passage thitherwards all the while: till,

Lastly, As this universal deluge came from all parts, and chiefly from E. or W. with a point or two of N. or S. so after the top of the tide has broken down the rampier of the tumour that withstood it, a general push is made to the eastward; yet, after half an hour is over, it ebbs every way at once, from the utmost height: the middle flows eastward, the N. stream towards Gibraltar, and the south to Ceuta point with freedom, without any deflection for the first half tide of ebb: but the remainder is driven by the N. E. spunging flood, by degrees transversely athwart the mouth of the Strait from cape Cabrita to Ceuta point; to end this tide, with the beginning of the next, and perfect the circle, look to plan the first, where the tides are shewn.

From these two accounts, I think we may conclude, that the Straits of Hercules run into a five-fold current upon the surface, and to a certain depth; and at the same time there must be under currents, otherwise the Dutch ship would have either remained at the bottom of the current in which she was sunk, or else have rose in the Mediterranean sea, as she was in the center current that sets into the said sea: and the under current accounts for the

reason why the longest line can find no bottom, being carried away from the ground by opposite directions. These opposite frictions of the sea pressing upon, and against, each other, account for the vast convulsions of the Straits, particularly when the wind blows hard from the Levant, or westward; for in those high winds the waters are in vast agitation, and will in some parts of the Straits, to the east of Tarifa, boil upon the deck of deep loaded vessels, in vast whirlpools: which I have seen, and which I take to be where each stream rubs by the other; and such agitations I have observed in the race of Portland and Alderney, occasioned by contrary currents, foul grounds, and promontories, which repel each other with great violence.

These accounts naturally lead one to the famous action between Adherbal the Carthaginian, and Lælius the Roman admiral: the former sailing from Gadir, and the latter intercepting him from Carteia: but as I have amply wrote upon this subject, I shall only observe, that this remarkable circumstance of those eddies, points out that the engagement could not have been in the Atlantic, neither between the capes Spartel and Trafalgar, or in the Mediterranean, for there are no such eddies there; Lælius therefore descried the quinquere that was dispatched before Adherbal's fleet, from off Carteia, and consequently had time to engage Adherbal against his inclination, owing to the meeting currents already described; and which of itself is a sufficient proof, that Carteia was at Rocabillo, at the bottom of Gibraltar bay.

As soon as you sail between capes Spartel and Trafalgar, which is almost an ocean, the Straits of Hercules have a remarkable romantic appearance, particularly Mons Abila and Calpe, Apes hill, and the mountain of Gibraltar: though the real Strait runs between Europa point of the latter, and point Africa of Ceuta.

John Leo, the Moor (1), writes, that Septa was called by the Latins, Civitas, and by the Portugals, Seupta, built by the Ro-

(1) Chap. v. p. 180.

mans; and was once the principal city of Mauritania, and held in great respect by those people, who had a very civil police there, and was well inhabited: afterwards it was won by the Goths, who appointed a governour, and kept it in their possession, till the Mahometans invaded the country and surprised it.

The Goths, or rather Vandals, were invited by Bonifacius into Africa: these Vandals who were commanded by Genferic, were ordered by him to assemble with their wives, children, and effects; and having ordered them to go on board, he put to sea in the month of May of the year four hundred and twenty-eight, and, abandoning Spain, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, and landed in Africa (2): and committed most dreadful ravages in that wealthy province, as the author of St. Austin describes; and according to that writer, they were in the month of May of the year four hundred and thirty, already masters of all the cities of Africa, except Carthage, Cirtha, and Hippo: however, Valentinian maintained as long as he lived, among some other provinces, that of Tingitana.

Gefalic, or Gezaleyk, the ninth king of the Goths, went into Africa, to ask succours of Trasimond, king of the Vandals, and obtained them: he returned and died in the year five hundred and ten (3).

Theudis, the eleventh king of the Ostrogoths, passed into Africa (4), and besieged the city of Ceuta; but the garrison upon a Sunday made a sally, and cut in pieces the best part of his army, which caused him to retire with what were left, and return home. He was murdered by a pretended madman, in the five hundred and forty-eighth year of Christ. But here I must be more particular.

The Vandals, who had transported themselves to Afric, and were masters of all the coasts opposite to Spain, had for their

(2) Univ. Hist. Vol. XIX. B. IV. c. xxviii. p. 341. (3) Richer's Abridged Hist. Spain, p. 60. (4) Idem.

monarch in four hundred and sixty-six Genferic (5), who had been very successful against the Romans, and was now considered both as a lawful and a very potent prince (6).

The royal family of the Goths being entirely extinct by the death of Amaleric, in five hundred and thirty-one (7); their monarchy, which seems hitherto to have been in some measure hereditary, became afterwards strictly elective. The first who mounted the throne, by the choice of the nobility, was Theudis, who had governed Spain with so much reputation during the minority of the deceased prince. He was scarce seated on the throne before he saw the neighbouring kingdoms of the Vandals in Africa subverted by the armies of the emperor Justinian, under the command of the famous Belisarius, and this before he could determine with himself whether it would be consistent with his interest to interpose in the quarrel.

Some short time after this, the king of the Visigoths was alarmed by the prospect of new dangers; for the imperial forces, not content with overturning the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, turned their victorious arms against the city of Ceuta, which, though there is no account how that city came into their hands, yet it was at this time in the possession of the Goths, and reduced before Theudis was in a condition to afford the garrison any relief (8). He had however assembled an army for this purpose; and, becoming better apprised of the importance of this place, from its loss, he caused his troops to be embarked as soon as possible, in hopes of recovering it before the Romans had time to repair and provide for its defence. But, though an Arian, it seems he was so strict in his observation of the Sunday, as a day of rest and devotion, that the enemy, taking advantage of his piety, made a general sally with such success, that he was obliged to raise the

(5) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. XIX. B. XIX. p. 344. (6) Jornand. cap. XLVII.
S. Isid. (7) Ildefons. (8) Isid. Hist. Goths. Greg. Turon.

siege, and return with his fleet and army across the Straits into Spain (9); where he did not long survive this disgrace, being assassinated in five hundred and forty-eight. His successor, Theodile, was assassinated in five hundred and forty-nine. Agila was then advanced to the regal dignity, without waiting for the usual forms. This disgusted many of the nobility, who had no share in the election; and his irregular conduct soon increased the number of his enemies (1). The city of Cordova was the first that refused to acknowledge him for their sovereign; which provoked him to such a degree, that he marched thither with a numerous army, fully resolved to chastise the inhabitants in such a manner, as might deter others from following their example (2). The people of Cordova issuing out of the city, attacked him in the field, defeated his forces, killed one of his sons, and obliged him to retire with great precipitation. This success of theirs excited revolts in several places; which Athanagild, a noble, but a very ambitious Goth, managed with such dexterity, that those who were in arms, and without a chief, invited him to put himself at their head, and proclaimed him king (3). He might very probably have attained his views without foreign assistance, but he was in haste to be a king; and, that he might be so the sooner, demanded assistance from the emperor Justinian, to whom this application was very welcome, more especially as he proposed at the same time to give a certain district on the coast of Spain, in return for these auxiliaries (4). The emperor, therefore, sent over a body of troops from Africa, under the command of Liberius, who was immediately put into possession of the maritime country, from the hill of Gibraltar to the confines of the kingdom of Valencia (5).

(9) Isid. ubi supra. (1) Mar. Hist. de Hispan. lib. v. c. ix. Ferreras, Hist. de Hispan. p. 3. § vi. Mayerne. Turquet, lib. v. (2) Isidor. Hist. Goth. (3) Jornand. Isidor. Greg. Tur. (4) Isid. Greg. Turon. (5) Isid. Hist. Goth.

In six hundred and fourteen, the patrician Cæsarius had the direction of all the affairs of the imperialists in Spain, who were masters of the whole coast, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the frontiers of Valencia, and had also the little country of Algrave, with a line of numerous little fortresses along their frontiers (6). After king Sisebut had gained several advantages and victories over the imperialists, Cæsarius sent him a letter, desiring to know what terms the imperialists might expect, in case (for avoiding the effusion of Christian blood) they should be disposed to submission. Sisebut received the minister kindly, answered the letter graciously, and acquainted Cæsarius with his terms; who consented to them, provided he might have leave to send them to his master, the emperor Heracius, for his approbation (7). Heraclius, the Greek emperor, ratified the treaty at Constantinople, though very disadvantageous, and gave up all the country he possessed in Spain, along the coast of the Mediterranean, reserving only Algarve, as it is now called.

At this time, the inhabitants of the opposite coast of Africa committed frequent piracies upon those who were now become subjects to this brave, clement, and victorious monarch, king Sisebut; who brought the whole naval force of his kingdom round to that side of his dominions; and, as the most effectual method of putting an end to these disorders, he embarked the best part of his army that had subdued the imperialists, and, making a descent in Mauritania, reduced Tangier, Ceuta, and all the adjacent district, into which he put strong garrisons, and so freed his people at once and for ever from the dangers they were exposed to on that side (8). This was the last great action of his life, and happened in the year of our Lord six hundred and eighteen.

(6) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. XIX. B. XIX. p. 404, 405.

(7) Vassæi Chron.

(8) Alphons. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Ancephalæossis. Roder. Sanctii Epist. Palent.

In the year seven hundred, Egiza, king of Spain, died, and was succeeded by Witiza, who might be a wicked, and, in that sense, a weak prince, without being a madman or an idiot (9), as some have styled him. But his vices grew upon him daily, more especially after the death of Gunderic, who was succeeded by Sindered in the see of Toledo; a man who is said to have complied with his prince, at the expence of his conscience and his function; and it is likewise asserted, with great probability, that, misguided by the bad example of the court, the people in general became luxurious, indolent, and vicious, which, as it was very natural, lessened them in the esteem of their neighbours, and prepared the way for that ruin in which they were afterwards swallowed up. We must now, says my author (1), turn our eyes upon those whom Providence made the scourges of a dissolute monarch and a degenerate people, and take notice of the first steps that were made towards their destruction.

Walid was at this time caliph of the Saracens, and Muza was the general who commanded his forces in the marine parts of Africa. He had already, by order of his master, reduced the rest of Mauritania under his obedience, and resolved to finish his conquests by driving the Goths out of the small part of that country of which they were possessed (2). It was with this view that he marched directly with a numerous army, to form the siege of Ceuta, in which count Julian commanded, who is said to have espoused the sister of Oppas, (the brother of king Witiza, or as some say, his son) and of king Witiza. He was certainly a man of great quality, and an excellent officer, of which he gave a noble instance, by defending this place with such skill and intrepidity, that, after considerable loss before it, Muza was obliged to raise the siege, and, as a proof of his resentment for want of success, he ravaged and destroyed all the adjacent country without mercy (3).

(9) Ferreras. (1) Mod. Univ. Hist. Vol. XIX. B. XIX. p. 456, note (G).
(2) Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab. (3) Ferr. Hist. Hispania, p. 4. § viii.

Some time after this, bearing still in his mind the anger kindled by this defeat, he caused a powerful fleet to be fitted out, that he might try whether the Goths were as able to defend themselves at sea as on land. Witiza had no sooner intelligence of this, than he likewise equipped a powerful navy, under the command of prince Theodomir, who had been before victorious over this enemy, and was so fortunate as to defeat them again; which obliged Muza to consider his future attempts better, though at the same time it served to augment that indignation he had conceived against the Goths, and which was ever after implacable (4).

This, as some judicious Spanish writers observe, ought to have opened the eyes of the monarch of the Goths, and excited in him an active and diligent zeal for putting his dominions, more especially their sea coasts, into the best state of defence possible. But when men, and more especially princes, devote themselves entirely to pleasure, it so enervates their faculties, and clouds their understandings, that they remain in a kind of dead sleep, in which destruction generally finds them (5). But besides this neglect of Witiza, to take the measures necessary in so critical a conjuncture, there was another circumstance that could not fail of retarding his progress in that respect, though he might have been so inclined; and this was, the suspicions he had of the fidelity of many of his subjects, which rendered it extremely dangerous for him to raise forces in different parts of the kingdom, who, instead of resisting foreign enemies, might have turned their arms against himself (6). We may from hence discern, that the condition of Spain at this time was such as really invited the Moors, a restless and martial nation, to attempt an invasion, at the same time that it disabled the Goths from exerting themselves in a manner otherwise natural to a people who had established themselves in Spain by the same courage and discipline, through the exercise of which they had been acquired (7).

(4) Isid. Pacens. (5) Alphonf. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet, lib. III. (6) Vafæi. Chron. (7) Luc. Tudens.

All the arts that Witiza could use, and all the precautions that his diffidence could inspire, proved in the end ineffectual for preventing the defection of his subjects, who, taking the advantage of the distracted state of his affairs, began to shake off all respect for his government in several distant provinces. Roderic, the son of Theodofred, availing himself of this general disposition, was quickly in such a state, as to form pretensions to the regal dignity; so that a civil war began, and confusion served, as it commonly does in all countries, as the prelude to universal destruction (8). The king's thoughts, being taken off from the care of the public, were from this time entirely turned to the preservation of himself and his family: on the other hand, the rebels and malecontents having their own safety chiefly in view, were assiduous only in bringing that revolution to bear which might free them from all fear of punishment from Witiza; so that the apprehensions of present and immediate danger on both sides, hindered either party from discerning the peril they were in of being totally overthrown by an enterprising and vigilant enemy, that kept an eye continually upon their divisions, and expected with impatience when a proper opportunity would offer for renewing their endeavours to extend that empire which they had lately established in Africa over the opposite country in Europe, which they knew to be rich and flourishing, and which these hungry and rapacious conquerors had a longing desire to plunder (9). Of this they very speedily gave another pregnant instance, even before things were altogether ripe for making a general invasion; but by what means they were led to this expedition, is not easy to determine (1), though we conceive the following at least a propable account.

The governour of Mauritania for the caliph, Muza, after long meditation, judged the most probable means of subduing Spain, was, to gain a footing therein, by seizing either some strong place,

(8) Alphonf. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Vassæi Chron. (9) Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab. (1) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

or some small district that might be easily fortified; and having this project once in his mind, it was not long before he perceived, that the peninsula opposite to Afric, and within four leagues of his own province, was the fittest that he could desire for such a purpose. He made choice, therefore, of Tarick, or Tarif Abuzara, to command a small body of troops, which he caused to be embarked for the execution of this design, about the success of which, authors differ extremely (2). The Spanish writers say, that he landed with so small a force, that he was speedily repulsed, and obliged to return to Africa; whereas some of the Arabians assert, that, finding the Goths engaged in a civil war, he ravaged all the coasts, and returned to Muza with an account that his enterprize would be found a great deal more easy than himself had imagined (3). Others maintain, that he went yet farther, and that he established himself here, bestowing the name of Geizira Haladra, i. e. the Green island, afterwards contracted into Algeicira, on the whole tract, and that of Gebel Tarick, which by degrees has been softened into Gibraltar, on the promontory and fortress which he erected there (4) [A]. This, in

(2) Alphonf. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet. (3) Chron. de Albayd. Mohammed Ebnalgocia. (4) Sharisof Edrifi, five Geog. Nub.

[A] In obedience to his master's commands, it is said, that Muza acquainted count Julian, he was willing, in pursuance of his advice, to make an attempt upon Spain; but that the situation of affairs in Afric was such at this time, that it would not permit him to spare any great number of men; and on this account only one hundred horse and four hundred foot were embarked on board four trading ships, and sent over under the conduct of Tarick Ebn Nacair, an old officer who had but one eye, yet in great esteem with his master, and held the fittest amongst all under his com-

mand to form a right judgment of what might be expected from count Julian's intrigues and interest (a). We have set down the Arabic names, as bestowed on the island and promontory, in this rather than in the next expedition, in which we differ from Ferreras (b), though we rely upon the same authority (c), because it appears much more natural that new names should be given to places at first sight, than when they become more familiar. The reader, however, being apprised of this, will decide as to him shall seem reasonable.

(a) Marquis de Mondejar, Examen Chronologico del ano in que entraror los Moros in Espana, Part XXI. (b) Historia de Espana, Part IV. § viii. (c) Sharisof Edrifi in Geograph.

the sentiment of the most judicious of the Spanish critics, is accounted the first entrance of the Moors, the step by which they prepared for a general conquest; and, from a nice and judicious comparison of facts and dates, they fixed this introductory expedition of Tarif Abuzara to the year of our Lord seven hundred and nine (5); and if in this they have not hit the exact truth, we may be at least certain, that they come as near it as, at this distance of time, and with the few lights which can be derived from ancient writers, it is possible; and therefore with this we must be content; for, though nothing is of greater importance to the history of Spain than the fixing of this period, yet too much nicety therein would serve only to deceive us.

While Muza was contriving in what manner he might most effectually avail his master of what had been already done and discovered in Spain, the civil war went on between king Witiza and don Roderic, till the death of the former put the latter in possession of the kingdom, but without putting an end to the war; for Evan and Sisebut, the sons of Witiza, having been long accustomed to be styled princes, could not think of being degraded into the rank of private persons with patience, and therefore took every method that could be devised to make the utmost use of their father's creatures, in order to set one of them upon the throne (6). It was to compass this end, that they began to intrigue with the Saracens; and, as if the miseries of their country were not already too many, to propose to them sending an army into Spain, which, through the intrigues of count Julian, they were more than enough inclined to do (7). It must appear strange to an attentive reader, that this noble personage, who but a short time before had done his country such a remarkable service by the defence of Ceuta against this very man and this very nation, should

(5) Mondejar, Examen Chronologicum. (6) Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet. Vafæi Chron. (7) Roderic Tolet. Hist. Arab.

now go over to their interests, and labour to throw his country into the most miserable condition that can possibly be conceived (8). It must be imagined, that he was drawn to this either by the promise of a prodigious recompence, or, which is rather to be expected in a man of his birth or quality, by too deep a resentment of some personal injury. This last is adopted by most historians, and, in some, we find a copious and circumstantial account of the manner in which king Roderic ravished his daughter Cava, with a long train of particulars that visibly betray the romance. Those who are more desirous of finding truth, are very far from being positive whether it was the daughter or the wife of count Julian that was thus injured; and some modern critics, after entering closely and deeply into this enquiry, instead of solving those doubts, have introduced a new and greater difficulty with respect to the king by whom this injury was done, and who they think it very probable was not Roderic, but Witiza (9). Others again, reflecting upon these uncertainties, and that none of the ancient Spanish chronicles afford the least hint of this matter, conclude the whole to be a fable, which therefore they entirely reject (1).

But without carrying the matter so far, we may allow the Arabian writers (2), who in this respect had as good title to be well informed as the Spanish, may be in the right as to the assistance given Muza by don Julian, moved to this inexcuseable and barbarous conduct by resenting some flagrant injury done to him at home, while he was defending the conquests of the Goths abroad, not only against the prince who committed the offence, but also against his innocent subjects, and don Julian's own countrymen (3). This was no more than what Witiza's sons likewise did, and their uncle Oppas, who was metropolitan of Seville, who, to preserve a precarious principality, were content to abandon a part, and

(8) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. (9) Roder. Sanctii Episc. Palent. Alphonf. a Carthag. reg. Vafæi Chron. (1) Mantuan Pollicer. (2) Roder. Tolet. (3) Mondejar, Examen Chronologicum.

thereby

thereby hazard the whole kingdom of Spain, through the bringing in of these infidel auxiliaries (4). By the persuasion of count Julian, as their own writers say, Muza made a second and much more considerable embarkation, under the command of a new general, whose name was Tarick Abdalahi, who, with upwards of seven thousand men, accompanied by count Julian, landed near Gibraltar, and from thence made inroads into the adjacent country (5). The Saracen general, being thoroughly informed of the divisions of the Goths, and how little king Roderic was in a condition to oppose them, resolved, even with so inconsiderable a force, to attempt the reduction of the whole kingdom; and, that this design of his might not be disappointed by his soldiers endeavouring to return with their spoils into Africa, he caused his fleet to be set on fire before his intentions were generally known; but it is to be supposed that he gave proper notice, as well of what he designed to do, as of what he had already done, to Muza, from whom he derived his authority (6). This is considered as the second invasion of the Moors, and is by many writers confounded with the first, because the forces landed at the same place; but the best authorities place this in the year seven hundred and ten (7).

The wise governour of Mauritania, who had rendered himself accountable to the caliph, his master, for the success of the war he had undertaken, entirely approved this measure, as thinking the force already sent over by no means proportionable to such a design, though he was at the same time very well pleased that his general was in possession of a fortress and port, where for the future he might send reinforcements, as occasion required (8). But believing it necessary, in the first place, to have a superior army in the field, he got together as many vessels as was possible, and drew out of his army twelve thousand men more, mostly natives

(4) Vafæi Chron. (5) Geograph. Nubiens. Roderic Tolet. (6) Ifid. Pacens. Chron. Albayd. (7) Ferreras, Hist. Hispana, Part III. § viii. (8) Roderic Tolet.

of Mauritania, from whence the conquest of Spain is attributed to the Moors, and sent them over under the command of Tarick Abincier, whom he declared general and commander in chief, and who had instructions to extend his conquests as far as he was able, without hazarding his troops too much by marching into the heart of the country (9). We must naturally conclude, that the contrivance, providing necessaries, and carrying this scheme into execution, must have been attended with various delays, and occasioned, on the whole, a great consumption of time, insomuch that we cannot easily conceive this new general could take the field before the summer of seven hundred and eleven, at which time he found king Roderic, who had already brought his affairs into some order, at the head of a small army, ready to oppose him, and at the same time to cover, as far as he was able, all the open country behind him from the incursions of the Moors, who, as they had a considerable body of horse, made, wherever they came, a most dreadful devastation, and exercised, by the advice of don Julian, and with a view to strike a terror that might render resistance vain, the most inhuman cruelties upon the unarmed and defenceless inhabitants (1).

The reader will discern, that hitherto we have had but a very indistinct account of this last monarch of the Visigoths, and for this plain and short reason, that there is no better to be had. We have no authentic relation of the place or manner of Witiza's death, or of the solemn election, or at least recognition, of Roderic afterwards; for things were now in such disorder and confusion, so many evils were felt, such numberless dangers threatened, and this calamitous scene was of so long a continuance, that very few people had any inclination to put the transactions of those times into writing, till it became impossible to speak of them with that correctness and accuracy that posterity might wish

(9) Ferr. *Historia Hispana*, Part iv. § viii. (1) *Ibid.* Pacens.

or expect (2). It is indeed true, that some historians afterwards stepped in, and in a good measure filled up this chasm with incongruous and superstitious stories, below the dignity of history; and which have so obscured any traces of truth that may remain amongst them, as to prevent the bringing them together in a way that might afford the reader any tolerable satisfaction; and therefore it is much better to content ourselves with a few facts, that are tolerably well supported, as being drawn from the short chronicles of ancient writers, than to have recourse to those fabulous supplements, which, though they might entertain and amuse, could not either inform or instruct (3).

The Moors took Ceuta by means of count Julian, who carried them into Spain, and who was earl and governour of Septa, and had a vast estate both in Africa and in Spain, as has been sufficiently observed. The Mahometans having taken that city, they kept possession on the behalf of one Elgualid, son of Habdulmalic, their patriarch, then residing at Damascus, in the year of the Heijra ninety-two: from thence forwards the city became so civilized and so well stored with inhabitants, that it grew to be the most famous in all Mauritania.

It contained many temples, and colleges of students, with great numbers of artizans, and men of learning and high spirit. Their artizans, says my author (4), excelled, especially in works of brass, as namely in making of candlesticks, basons, standishes, and such like, and as highly polished, as if made of gold or silver, and far excelled the Italians, who were curious in such works.

Without the city were many fair villages and granges, especially in that place, which for the abundance of wines is called the vineyards: nevertheless, the fields are very barren and fruitless, for which reason their corn was exceeding dear.

(2) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras Historia de Hispana, Part iv. § viii.
 (3) Roder. Sanctii Episc. Palent. Alphons. a Carthag. reg. Hispan. Anacephalæosis.
 (4) John Leo.

Both without and within the city of Ceuta, there is a beautiful prospect towards Granada: however, the city was greatly afflicted by Habdulmumen, the king and patriarch; who having surpris'd it, razed the buildings, and banished the principal inhabitants thereof: and not long afterwards, it sustained as great damage by the king of Granada, who (besides the aforesaid injuries) carried the nobles and chief citizens captives into Granada in Spain: and lastly in the year of Mahomet eight hundred and eighteen, being taken by a Portugal armada, all the citizens abandoned it.

Abu Sahid being then king of Fez, and a man of no valour, neglected the recovery thereof: but in the midst of his pleasures being informed that it was lost, he would not so much as interrupt his vain pastime.

Keeping as much as possible within Ceuta point and cape Spartel, called by the Spaniards Cabo Esparta, which lies between Arzilla and Tangier, shooting far into the sea, and the very point guarded by a rock, between Tangier and Ceuta, is a town called Casar Ezzaghir, that is, the little palace: it was built by Mansor, king and patriarch of Maroco, at about twelve miles from Tangier, and eighteen from Ceuta.

Every year that Mansor passed into the province of Granada, he was constrained to march his armies over the rough and ragged mountains of Ceuta, before he could gain the ocean to embark. It was well peopled in past times, for part of the inhabitants were weavers and merchants, and the rest mariners, that used to transport the wares of Barbary into Europe. This town the king of Portugal took by surpris; and the king of Fez long laboured with ill success to recover it; which was in the year of the Heijra eight hundred and sixty-three.

In regard to Barbary, Leo Afer delivers two etymologies, which, says Mr. Addison (5), are so agreeable both to the nature of the

(5) Lan. Addison's Narrative of West Barbary, p. 75.

language, and glebe of the country, that they may seem to have been imposed by Adam, the primitive nomenclatur: for listening to the language of the Moors, Barbary seems to be descended from Barbar, which signifies an inarticulate murmur, and grumbling noise without accent or harmony; for their speech is harsh, being very guttural, which is esteemed an argument of its antiquity: and indeed it hath gained the vogue of no less ancient a pedigree, than to be bred of the old Punic and Arabian.

The other reason why this country bears the name of Barbary, may be taken from the frame and disposition of the earth, which being full of wild and unkindly tumours, is well entitled to the name of Bar (a word not known to the present inhabitants) signifying a desert, and the duplicate of the monosyllable Bar-bar, implieth, that of old Barbary was nothing but a desert, or great solitude.

As for the word Africa, I shall follow the Universal History (6), pronounced by the Arabs Afrikia, which seems to be unknown to Herodotus, Aristotle, Strabo, and the other most ancient Greek authors. Dr. Hyde takes it to be the same with the Phœnician or Punic חבֿרְקָה Habarca, Havarca, Havreca, &c. or אֶבְרְקָה Arreca, i. e. the Barca, or the country of Barca. This seems extremely probable, especially since Barca was a most remarkable part of Africa, and the Romans, who first brought the name of Africa into Europe, might not pronounce it exactly in the same manner as the Carthaginians and Phœnicians, from whom they received it. The principal etymon will vanish, when it is considered, that the Orientals for the most part pronounced the second letter of their alphabet like a v, and that nothing was more usual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, was it in any manner necessary.

(6) Univ. Hist. Vol. iv.

It must be observed too, that the first division of the world was into two parts only, to wit, Asia and Europe, or the eastern and western parts; Europe comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and Africa, which division still prevails amongst many of the Orientals. This may not only be inferred from a variety of authors, but likewise from the words Europe and Asia themselves, the former importing occidental, or western, and the latter, half. When that vast region now called Africa was first considered as a distinct part of the world, these gentlemen cannot take upon them to determine; nor whether Europe and Africa were ever joined together by an isthmus uniting Spain and Mauritania, as some authors suggest; nor lastly, if this should be admitted, when, or by what means, such an isthmus came to be destroyed. The Nubian geographer affirms it to have been effected by labour and art; but Averroes, by an earthquake.

The island Cerne, taken notice of by Hanno and Scylax, seems to have been somewhere on the coast of Libya Interior; but in what parts of the ocean it was, cannot be discovered from the Ancients, who differ widely amongst themselves with regard to its situation, which probably induced Strabo to deny the very being of it.

These gentlemen own themselves as much in the dark in relation to Plato's island Atlantis, which he makes of a larger extent than Asia and Africa together. Some of the Moderns are disposed to think, from several circumstances, that it was the vast continent, now called America; others, that it was nearer the pillars of Hercules; and lastly, others, that every thing related of it is to be considered as downright fiction. Much may be said in defence of each opinion; however, the first appears most probable; for Ammianus Marcellinus affirms, that Plato on this occasion not to have written fable, but a true history; and Proclus cites Marcellus, an Ethiopic historian, in defence of what that philosopher has advanced concerning this island. Crantor also, Plato's first interpreter,

preter, takes this relation to be a true history: that the island here under consideration was not so near the Straits as some modern authors suppose, seems probable from Diodorus Siculus, who writes, that the Phœnicians in early times sailed beyond Hercules's pillars, along the African coast, and there meeting with storms and tempests, were carried to the remotest parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vast island at a great distance from Libya, and lying very far west. This country, continues the same author, had a fruitful soil, navigable rivers, &c. and, from the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians came to the knowledge of it: and in the same place he says, that the Carthaginians would not permit any other nation to settle in this new region, but reserved it for themselves, that, if ever they were driven from their native soil, they might have a place to which they might retire. Ælian brings Silenus expressly asserting to Midas, that there was a vast continent beyond Europe, Asia, and Africa, which ought to be considered as islands surrounded by the ocean. These, and other passages, that might be extracted from the Ancients, induced the learned Perizonius to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had some faint knowledge of America, derived to them either from the Egyptian and Carthaginian traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not wholly unknown to them.

Leo writes, that Mauritania Tingitana was the most rich and beautiful country of Africa, and named from the city Tingis; and was also (as Pliny witnesseth) called Borgundiana: while others have called it by the names of Mauritania Sitiphenfis, Hispania Transfretana, and Hispania Tingitana: but Solinus calls the same Mauritania Inferior: and that the inhabitants were of old named by the Greeks, Maurusii, and by the Romans, Mauri, but that the Spaniards call them Alarabes.

This once great and ancient city of Tangiers, was built by Antæus, improved and better peopled by the Phœnicians and Car-

thaginians, and afterwards repeopled, beautified, and colonized by the Romans, about the time when they subdued the kingdom of Bætica. From the Straits of Gibraltar, says Leo the Moor (7), it was distant almost thirty, and from Fez an hundred and fifty miles, i. e. from the Strait between Mons Calpe and Septa: so that Leo did not look for the Strait to the westward of Europa and Africa points.

From the time that the Goths were first lords of Granada, this city of Tangier was subject to Septa, or Ceuta, until it and Arzilla were won by the Mahometans. It was always a civilized, famous, and well peopled town, very stately, and sumptuously built: but the lands belonging to it were not very fertile, nor fit for tillage: however not far off are certain vallies continually watered with fountains, which furnish the city with all kinds of fruit in abundance: besides, there are without the city a great many vines, upon a sandy soil.

It was well inhabited, till such time as Arzilla was surpris'd by the Portuguese: for then the inhabitants being dismayed by rumours of wars, took up their bag and baggage and fled unto Fez: whereupon the king of Portugal's deputy at Arzilla sent one of his captains thither, who kept it so long under the obedience of the king, till the king of Fez sent one of his kinsmen also to defend a region of great importance near unto the mountains of Gamera, being enemies to the Christians.

Twenty-five years before the king of Portugal won this city, he sent an armada against it; hoping that the city, being destitute of aid, while the king of Fez was engaged against the rebels of Mequinez, would soon surrender: but contrary to the expectation of the Portuguese, the king of Fez concluded a sudden truce with them of Mequinez, and sent his counsellor with an army, who encountering the Portuguese, made a great slaughter, and slew their

(7) Vid. Leo. Geog. Hist. Africa, B. III. p. 179.

general, who was carried in a sack to new Fez, and there to be set upon an high place where all men might behold him: afterwards the king of Portugal sent a new supply, who suddenly assaulted the city in the night, but were most of them slain, and the remainder obliged to fly: but that which the king of Portugal could not achieve by these two armadas, he achieved with small forces and little disadvantage: in the days of my author Leo, Mahomet, king of Fez, left no means unattempted for the recovery of this city, but so great always was the Portugal valour, that he had ever ill success. These things were done in the year of the Heijra nine hundred and seventeen, and of Christ one thousand five hundred and eight.

Tangier, called by the Portuguese Tanjar, was one of the oldest cities of Africa, in the province of Hasbat, in the kingdom of Fez, at the bottom of a gulf on the western shore, near the Straits of Gibraltar, in former times of great repute, and had in sixteen hundred and sixty-two an university (8).

This city of Tangier, was the capital of Mauritania Tingitana (9). It stands on a handsome bay, and was once a considerable place, and is said by the African fabulists to have excelled all the cities of the world for largeness and magnificence, and to have been surrounded by walls of brass. It had, however, many sumptuous edifices and palaces, and a considerable number of noblemen who resided there in the time of the Goths and Arabians; but being taken by the Portuguese in the year one thousand four hundred and seventy-one, or one thousand four hundred and seventy-three, according to others (1), grew more considerable for its strength than beauty. At length finding the expence of keeping it exceed by far the advantage they reaped by it, it was readily

(8) Brockwell's Natural and Political Hist. Portugal. Vol. xiv. p. 328. Vol. xviii. p. 173. (9) Ancient Hist. Morocco, p. 320. (1) See Braithwait's Revol. of Mo-

yielded to the English, as part of the dowry of the princess Catharine of Portugal.

The Moors are so far from having excellent libraries, that they wonder to see, says Mr. Addison, any book of age, or volume in their own language. This he understood from Cidi Hamet Coger (formerly Alcaide of Alcazar) who when in Tangier coming to see the public library that the English had founded there, where he shewed him a M. S. in his own character concerning their religion, he kissed, hugged, laid it to his brow, upon the crown of his head, lifted it up to heaven, and in every circumstance appeared therewith so much transported, that it could scarce be rescued out of his embraces.

The same M. S. Mr. Addison also shewed to a talib (who was one of Tafilit's embérkin or messenger of state, sent to compliment his excellency the lord embassadour, the illustrious lord H. Howard at Tangier) who esteemed it so great a rarity, that he solicited the ambassador to beg, or buy it for him at any rate (2).

This city, while the Romans were lording it over Spain, was subjected to the prince of Ceuta, and continued very populous till the time of Alphonso the fifth, king of Portugal, who in one thousand four hundred and sixty-three, at the head of thirty thousand men and three hundred and eight vessels great and small, easily made himself master of the place: the inhabitants went to Fez.

Don Alphonso, by extending his dominions all along the coast of Africa between the years one thousand four hundred and fifty-one and one thousand four hundred and seventy-one, gained him the glorious surname of the African (3).

Alphonso's father in one thousand four hundred and thirty-three had worn out his time fruitlessly in his African wars; and parti-

(2) West Barbary, &c. by L. Addison. preface to the reader. (3) Vertot. Revol. in Spain, Vol. iv. B. ix. p. 595.

cularly in the siege of this city, which he was obliged to raise, and leave his brother Ferdinand as a pledge in the hands of Aben Sala, emperour of Barbary, till Septa or Ceuta should be redelivered: but the state of Portugal esteemed it dishonourable, easily to surrender a place of so much consequence as Ceuta, and neglected the prince who remained prisoner seven years in miserable captivity (4).

Tangier being taken, remained many years in the possession of the kingdom of Portugal; for after it was abandoned by the Portuguese, it was retaken by Alphonso, in one thousand four hundred and seventy (5), who fortified it with walls and other works: and in one thousand six hundred and sixty-two it was given to king Charles the second of England, as part of the dowry with his consort Catharine, infanta of Portugal: but some writers say, he being weary of the charges of defending it against the attempts of the Moors, and many gallant actions being performed by its governours, particularly Sir Palmer Fairborne, who was mortally wounded here by a shot from the Moors in one thousand six hundred and eighty, and whose epitaph Dryden wrote, he caused it to be blown up in one thousand six hundred and eighty-four: so that it was repeopled by the Moors, and has ever since remained in their possession.

Turquet gives this short but particular account: king Alphonso, says he (6), in one thousand four hundred and seventy, having in person transported beyond sea a very mighty army, being followed by the prince don John his son, and by many great lords and experienced captains of his kingdom, and taking by force Arzilla, he so terrified the inhabitants of Tangier, that they forsook the city, and left it empty to the Portuguese. Don Alphonso having amply enlarged his empire beyond the sea, the kings of Portugal have taken the title of king on this side, and beyond the

(4) Vid. Ogilby, p. 197. (5) Geog. Dict. printed in 1759. (6) Turquet's Gen. Hist. Spain, B. XXI. p. 829.

sea. The government of Tangier was granted to Ruy de Merlo with a good garrison, and then the king and army returned to Lisbon.

By secretary Thurloe's sixth volume of state papers, p. 505 (7), I find that men of great reflection, even so early, perceived the great benefit which England's commerce would reap, from possessing a safe and fortified port at or very near the entrance into the Mediterranean sea. In a letter written by general Monk from Scotland, to the said secretary Thurloe, in September, one thousand six hundred and fifty-seven, there is the following remarkable paragraph, viz. "I understand the Portugal ambassador is come to London; and I make no question, but he will be desiring some favour from my lord protector. There is a castle in the Straits' mouth, which the Portugals have called Tangar, on Barbary side, and which if they would part withal, it would be very useful to us; and they make little use of it, unless it be for getting of Blackamoors; for which his highness may give him leave to trade. An hundred men will keep the castle, and half a dozen frigates there, would stop the whole trade in the Straits to such as shall be enemies to us."

This proposal of general Monk's very probably occasioned the stipulating of this port and castle five years afterwards to be a part of queen Catharine's marriage portion, as it accordingly was: yet this same general Monk afterwards found a considerable garrison little enough to defend it against the continual attacks of the Moors.

De Witt, in his Interest of Holland, justly remarks, "That although their ships trading into the Mediterranean should be well guarded by convoys against the Barbary pirates; yet it would by no means be proper to free that sea of those pirates; because (says he) we should thereby be put upon the same foot-

(7) Vid. Anderson upon Commerce, Vol. II. p. 101.

“ing with the Eastlanders, English, Spaniards, and Italians:
“wherefore it is best to leave that thorn in the sides of those na-
“tions, whereby they will be distressed in that trade: whilst we,
“by our convoys, engross all the European traffic and navigation
“to Holland.”

By the experience of the ill effects of former negligence, and the help of the port of Gibraltar, we have, in our own times, greatly gained ground upon Holland in this particular respect.

“Fas est & ab hoste doceri:”

“We may, and ought to learn wisdom even from an enemy.”

Towards the close of the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-one, a marriage treaty was concluded between king Charles the second of England, and the princess Catharine, sister to Alphonso the sixth, king of Portugal: it is said, that the real fortune, which Alphonso agreed to give with his sister, was three hundred thousand pounds sterling (8). It is almost foreign to remark, that France greatly forwarded this match, for the further weakening of Spain; and that Spain, for the prevention thereof, proposed to our king three several protestant princesses: but it is much to the purpose to note, that Portugal hoping for great assistance from England against Spain, not only agreed to the above-mentioned large sum, but likewise to yield up to king Charles for ever the town and port of Tangier on the Barbary shore, at the very entrance of the Straits' mouth of the Mediterranean, and of the town, port, and island of Bombay (or Bombaim) with the rest of the isle of North Salfet, on the coast of Malabar, in East-India. Tangier (or Tanger) had been possessed by the Portuguese ever since the year one thousand four hundred and sixty-three, when king Alphonso the fifth took it from the Moors. To this port, king Charles granted all the privileges and immunities of a free

(8) Idem, Vol. II. p. 118.

port, in order to make it a place of trade ; for which, as well as for the security of our Mediterranean, &c. commerce, it was very advantageously situated : but by the king's bad conduct, it did not (as we shall see) answer expectation.

Tangier being in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty besieged by the king of Morocco, king Charles the second sent a message to the House of Commons, to recommend its preservation, and its importance to the English commerce in the Mediterranean ; and that the two millions already expended on it would be entirely thrown away, unless speedy and effectual supplies were granted for its relief : but the Commons, in an address to the king (instead of granting this) represented (inter alia) " That Tangier had been several times under the command of " popish governours, and its garrison, in a great degree, made up " of popish officers and soldiers, as also that the money given for " it had been misapplied ; wherefore they could not grant a supply " for Tangier, unless they might be assured, that thereby they did " not augment the strength of their popish adversaries." Thus the jealousy entertained by the parliament and nation, that the king intended this place for a curb on their religion and liberties, prevented its being duly supplied, and occasioned (as we shall see) its being abandoned soon after by the king (9).

For in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-three, king Charles sent lord Dartmouth, attended by the able Mr. Pepys, secretary of the admiralty, with twenty ships of war, utterly to demolish the town, castle, and mole of Tangier, and to choke up its harbour. It was said to have been strong when the Portuguese delivered it up to England, in the year one thousand six hundred and sixty-two ; but it was so greatly improved in strength by king Charles, as to be deemed impregnable. He, for the security of its haven and our shipping, constructed a superb mole, the extre-

(9) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 171.

mities whereof are said to have run out six hundred yards into the sea; and its stones were so strongly cemented together as if it had been one entire rock, insomuch that they were forced to drill it in many places, and blow it up by piece-meal; whereby it took up six months in its entire demolition. The mole had been made extremely commodious for our shipping and commerce, by reason of its situation on the African side of the Straits' mouth (1).

In April one thousand six hundred and eighty-four, lord Dartmouth returned to England with the garrison, artillery, and stores. "Hereby (says Rapin) the king was freed from a considerable annual expence; and the garrison, mostly consisting of popish officers and soldiers, served to augment the king's forces at home, thereby keeping in awe those who were impatient of the yoke." As sundry towns on the same shore are still held by Spain and Portugal, Tangier would probably at this day have been less an object of jealousy to the other European powers than Gibraltar is on the opposite shore: but whether its harbour and situation on the south side, where the current is said to run much stronger into the Straits than on the opposite shore, would have in all respects equally answered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not presume to determine. Yet we imagine it will scarcely be denied, that our retaining it with Gibraltar, would have been a considerable additional security to our commerce; and possibly also an augmentation of our naval power and influence, by keeping constantly a squadron of ships in so secure a port: leaving this point, however, for statesmen, we shall only add what some historians further relate, viz. that the rubbish of the demolished mole and of the walls of the town being thrown into the harbour, has so effectually choked it up, that it can never hereafter be a commodious port; which, however, is at least

(1) Idem, p. 178.

doubtful till a trial shall be attempted. Mr. Burchett, in his Naval History, relates, "That by our king's direction, there were buried amongst the ruins a considerable number of milled crown pieces of his majesty's coin; which, possibly, many centuries hence, may declare to succeeding ages, that that place was once a member of the British empire: and, let us just subjoin, who can tell but that hereafter it may be judged the interest of the British empire to re-assume its right to that port? more especially, if what is said by some be true, that the foundations of its demolished mole, as well as of its walls, remain entire; and that it is very possible for its haven to be entirely cleared of rubbish. Professor Oakley, in his account of south-west Barbary, "thinks it would
 "be an enterprize worth attempting, and easily to be effected, to
 "recover the said place again: for (says he) if two thousand men
 "were to go with three men of war and two bomb ketches, they
 "might make themselves masters of it in twenty-four hours time:
 "for, upon the heaving of a score of bombs, not one soul of the
 "Moors would stay within the town, and then the soldiers might
 "land at pleasure, who would have nothing else to do but to
 "plant their guns on the walls, and by night to empty a few
 "places of the ditches that are filled."

The city of Tangier made a fair prospect to the sea, and was a commodious port, and too strong for the Moors to wrest it from the power of England; though they thought that it might have been easy for them to have recovered, by its far distant situation from England: accordingly they proceeded under the conduct of their tempestuous general Gaylan, who, after several defeats which he received, with the loss of his own brother, played the English garrison a foul trick; for, having formed an ambuscade, he drew the earl of Tiveot imperceptibly into it, and cut to pieces most of the garrison.

Tangier was built on a rising ground of white stone, pretty well fortified; and the hills on both sides guarded by walls, &c
 and

and to the sea a pier was rebuilt by the Moors, after the English abandoned it: but whilst they remained, the Moors made continual assaults upon the works, and kept the town in perpetual alarm, which occasioned frequent skirmishes: it was therefore found too great a charge for sending every year succours to relieve it.

This city is situated, as I have already observed, in the bottom of a bay, and built on the side of a hill, overlooking the sea, encompassed with high walls to the landward, and commanded by a strong castle. The heats would be very troublesome, but for the sea breezes which cool and fan the air. In the castle Dr. Thomas Smith (2) met with a Roman monument, erected to the honour of P. Befius, a great officer and soldier in Trajan's time, who, among his other titles, is there stiled, PRO. TIG. MAURITANIAE TINGITANAE which since has been taken away, and presented to the university of Oxon by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley. The English had two churches here, (though they only made use of one, the other being reserved against all accidents) both of them were very neat and convenient, though not to be compared with the church of the Portuguese, retained still (according to the articles of agreement when the king of Portugal made over the right title, and gave the possession of Tangier to the crown of England) by canons regulars belonging to it, which was very stately and adorned with rich images, and supported by marble pillars. Toward one end of the English church, just by the vestry, which had been formerly a Turkish mosque, and afterwards the chapel of a convent of Dominicans, was a monumental stone table, with Arabic characters, containing an account of the houses, lands, and other revenues belonging to it, set up in the seven hundred and forty-third year of the Heijra, that is of Christ one thousand three hundred and forty-one. The mole was in great forwardness, having

(2) N. 230. p. 527.

gained above two hundred yards in the sea, in order to the making a good and safe harbour for ships to ride, which lie open to wind and waves, the outward side to the seaward somewhat sloping. Old Tangier lies at some little distance, where they found very frequently, in digging, several pieces of Roman coin (3).

King Charles, at an immense expence and labour, made it one of the strongest places on all that coast, and erected a very good fort and mole for the convenience of shipping; by which means it might by this time, (had it not been destroyed) have been a port of considerable trade: it was indeed made a very strong place whilst we were masters of it, and contained fifteen hundred houses well built, with many very pleasant gardens. In September or October one thousand six hundred and eighty-three, the king commissioned lord Dartmouth to go with about twenty sail of ships, and utterly demolish the town, castle, and mole of this place, by blowing them up, after twenty-two years possession in the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-four. The mole had cost the king vast sums, being run out into the sea nine hundred yards; but for want of money, or for some other cause, was left unfinished. Lord Dartmouth had also orders to choke up the haven. Six months were spent in executing this commission: the king was thereby freed from a considerable annual expence for the preservation of this place, and moreover the garrison, which mostly consisted of popish soldiers and officers, served to augment the king's forces at home, and keep in awe those who were impatient of the yoke (4). Since the Moors have been in possession, they have endeavoured to repeople it, but have not hitherto been able to raise it above the degree of a fishing town (5).

The following letters were written to the governour of Tangier, which will shew the estimation the Moors had of him and his

(3) Philosoph. Transactions, Vol. III. p. 458.
land. (5) See Braithwait's Revol. of Morocco.

(4) Smollett's Hist. Eng-

garrison;

garrison; and, at the same time, the genius and air of devotion and piety of the Mauritaniens (6).

“ In the name of God gracious and

“ merciful, whose blessing be

“ upon our lord Ma-

“ homed and his fa-

“ mily.

“ To the mighty, honourable, glorious, and most excellent lord
“ and governour of Tangier, the earl Tiveot.

“ God perpetuate your excellency's honour and glory, and
“ vouchsafe your perseverance in grandeur and felicity! happiness
“ unto you with the odours of a glorious name, shall continually
“ breathe out their fragrances, and let God continue and prosper
“ both you and your estate agreeable to your wishes.

“ Furthermore, to advise us of your abundant love, and espe-
“ cially generosity, there came to us the worthy gentlemen your
“ servants in their ship, with the honourable commanders of it,
“ the consul and the captain, and they behaved themselves amongst
“ us like men, touching your command which they observed, and
“ accomplished our desires according as we expected in the going
“ forth of our men, they returned home to us in health and safety,
“ so that we now re-enjoy their company according to the best of
“ our wishes: and may God in our stead largely reward and re-
“ compensate you, who have so highly obliged us herein.

“ Your messengers staid with us for some days, till we had
“ performed some of their desires; so that we sent with them two
“ excellent horses, and of the best sort that hath been in our time,
“ one whereof was for our own riding, and the other is of the
“ same breed; likewise forty good, choice beasts, both bulls and
“ cows, and a flock of about fourscore sheep, as a present to your
“ excellency, which out of your grace and favour, you would

(6) Lan. Addison's Narrative of West Barbary.

“ vouchsafe to accept from us. For the deserts and merits of your
“ honour, God alone can recompense.

“ We gave also to your legates two special horses and a few
“ cattle as the time permitted, and they likewise bought some
“ horses as the time served, and then departed from us well con-
“ tented: but we are always with you in that inviolable love and
“ friendship, which neither distance of place, nor length of time,
“ shall ever dissolve.

“ And for our country, Barbary, (blessed be God) all of it that
“ is loyal and in obedience to us, whether mountains, plains, or
“ cities, you have free passage into it, in love and friendship, to
“ converse and trade as you please, and to manage all your affairs:
“ and this will be of great advantage unto us, if it please God we
“ live, and the general take the castle of the port town, and the
“ rebels return wholly to their obedience, and then you shall not
“ apologize for us, or excuse us at present, as to the rest of your
“ desires, being assured that we cease not to encounter and fight
“ those enemies which have broken covenant with us, that so
“ they may shortly (if God please) return to their allegiance.

“ And we intreat you to grant our servants, the inhabitants of
“ the port, your best assistance in whatever they shall have need
“ of your help and supply: and whatsoever of our consorts shall
“ come to you, we beseech you not to be wanting in your care
“ towards them.

“ But the most earnest and important business which concerns
“ us to mention to you, is, for a great ship to lie at the port be-
“ tween us and the enemy, on purpose to cut off all relief by
“ shipping from the enemy, and pray let it be hastened with its
“ freight, provisions, and other necessaries. This is our chief bu-
“ siness which we entreat you to accomplish, according to our
“ desires; and any of the ships that shall come to this port, shall
“ drive away whatsoever merchant ships they find there, and
“ seize their goods: for the only thing that we want, and are in
“ need

“ need of assistance, is this business of the merchants. Thus we
 “ have given you the full of our desires in what we have written :
 “ and let God accomplish all our desires. Farewell.

“ Written on the third day of the week, being the twenty-
 “ fifth of the month Dulhevil, the last month of the one thousand
 “ and seventy-third year of the Heijra.

“ The servant of God who trusted in him,

“ Abdalla ebn Mahamed ebn Abebeker,

“ of blessed memory.”

The superscription,

“ To the chief of the nobles, lord and

“ governour of Tangier, the earl Ti-

“ veot, whom God preserve.”

Another letter.

“ In the name of God, the greatest of all great ones, whom
 “ we worship and serve, and none other.

“ To the most excellent count Tiveot, captain-general of Tan-
 “ gier, the just and valiant, greeting, and desiring that he may
 “ have health and prosperity, which we value much.

“ We received the servants of your excellency in our country,
 “ for whom we have done what we are able, and have commanded
 “ our vassals to guard them to Tangier. The present made us by
 “ your excellency we kindly receive. God augment your honour
 “ and happiness.

“ In all that is required at our hand, let it be upon our head,
 “ that we serve you with much willingness: being that as we are
 “ made friends, we esteem your friendship much. My son and
 “ cousins greet your excellency, desiring God that you may have
 “ health.”

Subscribed,

Almocadem Cassian Shat.

This

This Shat is reported to be an Andalusian, of the race of the Moors, banished from Spain: he hath hereditary to his family, the command of Anjera, which is a large cavila adjoining unto Tangier.

Mr. Lancelot Addison gives this short account of an intended design against Tangier, but it had not the seeming desired effect (6).

The envoy don Diego Felipe de Palma, says he, having from Ceuta advised Cidi el Hader Ben Ali Gaylan, that he was come from the crown of Spain on a message to his excellency (Gaylan's title) and desired to know when and where he should have permission and security to deliver it. Gaylan returned him for answer, that on the tenth of September, our stile, one thousand six hundred and sixty-three, at a place equally distant from Ceuta and Tetuan: accordingly don Diego went and stayed some time at Tetuan, and then returned to Ceuta.

The business and design of this embassy met with diversity of conjectures: by some it was supposed that don Diego was sent to solicit larger privileges for the Spanish garrisons on the Barbarian coast: others concluded, that the duke of Medina Celi, envious at the earl of Tiveot's successes against the Moors, and his truce concluded with Gaylan, caused this messenger (a creature of his own) to be sent with instructions to interrupt and disturb the new correspondence and amity between Tangier and El Hader: but to find out the riddle, I ploughed, says Mr. Addison, with one of their own heifers, having employed a Moor versed in public affairs, (and recommended to me by that great lover of the English, Cidi Abdelcrim Nacsis, then chief governour of Tetuan) who from the Spaniards inquisitiveness after the state and condition of Tangier, the number of soldiers, the quantity of the constant guards, the height and strength of the walls, the situation and

(6) Short Narrative of West Barbary, p. 109.

number of the guns ready mounted, &c. with the design of a Morisco habit to take a narrow view of the whole place, which in Gaylan's company within a few days after he performed, filled us with jealousies, that some mischief was intended against Tangier: and it is very certain, that the fore-mentioned duke had an evil eye upon the immortal Tiveot, for the renowned victories which under the most Christian king he achieved against his nation's interest in the Low Countries, which aged choler he found highly inflamed by the victories gained by that indefatigable captain over his Morisco neighbours, which instigated the duke's spleen not so much against Tangier, as its restorer Tiveot, who, being at this time in England, took the advantage of his absence to disgrace him (if any such thing had been possible) with his new confederate Gaylan.

Before I attempt to describe the Calpeian hill, I shall return back to Cadiz; of which I have almost sufficiently treated, in its ancient state, to the demolition by mutual consent of the Moors, being a bone of contention to those people. It was rebuilt by the Spaniards, after their successful arms had drove the Mahometans from their inland possessions to the shores of the Straits' mouth.

I must, as I am embarked upon the rapid Strait, renew my former subject of the current, that has been thought to set constantly into the Mediterranean sea: the first is the opinion of Mr. T. Smith, and the second, of Dr. Halley: and first, Mr. T. Smith, F. R. S. was of opinion, "That there was an under current, "whereby as great a quantity of water is carried out, as comes "flowing in: for (says he (7) an able seaman told me, when he "was in the Baltic, in a king's frigate, that they went in their "pinnace into the middle stream, and were carried violently by "the current: that soon after, they sunk a bucket with a large "cannon bullet to a certain depth of water, which gave check to

(7) *Miscellanea Curiosa*, Part XII. Vol. III.

“ the boat’s motion, and sinking it still lower and lower, the boat
 “ was driven ahead to windward against the upper current: the
 “ current aloft not being above four or five fathom deep, and that
 “ the lower the bucket was let fall, they found the under current
 “ stronger.” I shall now proceed to the opinion of Dr. Halley,
 F. R. S. as was by him presented to the Royal Society.

This worthy person is pleased to inform us from undoubted experiments of the exhalations of warm water, by which he shews, that the thickness of the water evaporated to have been the fifty-third part of an inch in two hours; but says he, “ We will suppose it only the sixtieth part for the facility of calculation: if, therefore, water as warm as the air in summer, exhales the thickness of a sixtieth part of an inch in two hours from its whole surface, in twelve hours it will exhale the $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch; which quantity will be found abundantly sufficient to serve for all the rains, springs, and dews; and account for the Caspian sea being always at a stand, neither wasting nor overflowing; as likewise for the current said to set always in at the Straits of Gibraltar, though those Mediterranean seas receive so many and so considerable rivers.

“ To estimate the quantity of water arising in vapours out of the sea, I think I ought to consider it only for the time the sun is up, for when the dews return in the night, as many, if not more, vapours are then emitted, and in summer the days being no longer than twelve hours, this excess is balanced by the weaker action of the sun, especially when rising before the water be warmed: so that if I allow $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch of the surface of the sea, to be raised per diem in vapours, it may not be an improbable conjecture: upon this supposition, every ten square inches of the surface of the water, yields in vapours per diem a cube inch of water; and each square foot, half a wine pint; every space of four feet square, a gallon; a mile square, six thousand nine hundred and fourteen tons; a square degree, suppose of sixty-nine English miles, will

evaporate thirty-three millions of tons: and if the Mediterranean be estimated at forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places, where it is broader, by those where it is narrower (and I am sure I guess at the least) there will be one hundred and sixty square degrees of sea; and consequently the whole Mediterranean must lose in vapour, in a summer's day, at least five thousand two hundred and eighty millions of tons: and this quantity of vapour, though very great, is as little as can be concluded from the experiment produced: and yet there remains another cause, which cannot be reduced to rule, I mean the winds, whereby the surface of the water is licked up sometimes faster than it exhales by the heat of the sun, as is well known to those that have considered those drying winds which blow sometimes.

“To estimate the quantity of water the Mediterranean sea receives from the rivers that fall into it, is a very hard task, unless one had the opportunity to measure their channels and velocity; and therefore we can only do it by allowing more than enough, that is, by presuming these rivers to be greater than in all probability they are, and then comparing the quantity of water voided by the Thames with that of those rivers, whose waters we desire to compute.

“The Mediterranean receives these considerable rivers; the Iberus, the Rhone, the Tiber, the Po, the Danube, the Neister, the Borysthenes, the Tanais, and the Nile; all the rest being of no great note, and their quantity of water inconsiderable. These nine rivers, we will suppose each of them to bring down ten times as much water as the river Thames; not that any of them is greater in reality, but to comprehend with them all the small rivulets that fall into the sea, which otherwise I know not how to admit. To calculate the water of the Thames, I presume that at Kingston bridge, where the flood never reaches, and the water always runs down, the breadth of the channel is one hundred yards, and its depth three, it being reduced to an equality (in

both which suppositions I am sure I take the most) hence the profile of the water in this place is three hundred square yards: this multiplied by forty-eight miles (which I allow the water to run in twenty-four hours, at two miles an hour) or eighty-four thousand four hundred and eighty yards gives twenty-five million three hundred and forty-four thousand cubic yards of water to be evacuated every day; that is, twenty million three hundred thousand tons per diem; and I doubt not, but in the excess of my measures of the channel of the river, I have made more than sufficient allowance for the waters of the Brent, the Wandel, the Lea, and Darwent, which are all worth notice, that fall into the Thames below Kingston. Now if each of the aforesaid nine rivers yield ten times as much water as the Thames doth, it will follow, that each of them yields but two hundred and three millions of tons per diem, and the whole nine but one thousand eight hundred and twenty-seven millions of tons in a day; which is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raised in vapour out of the Mediterranean in twelve hours time. Now what becomes of this vapour when raised, and how it comes to pass that the current always sets in at the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, shall immediately be shewed: but first it is necessary to advertise the reader, that in making the experiment herein mentioned, the water used had been salted to the same degree as is the common sea water, by the solution of about a fortieth part of salt.

“ Having thus shewed by experiment the quantity of water raised in vapour from the surface of the sea in a day's time, which was so far approved of by some honourable members of this society, that I received their commands to prosecute these enquiries; and particularly as to the method used by nature, to return the said vapours again into the sea; which is so justly performed, that in many hundreds of years we are sufficiently assured, that the sea has not sensibly decreased by the loss in vapour, nor yet abounded by the immense quantity of fresh it receives continually from the rivers.

rivers. To demonstrate this equilibrium of receipt and expence in the whole sea, is a task too hard for me to undertake, yet in obedience to those whom I have the honour to serve, I shall here offer what to me has hitherto seemed the most satisfactory account of this grand phenomenon. I have in another place attempted to explain the manner of the rising of vapour by warmth, by shewing, that if an atom of water was expanded into a shell or bubble, so as to be ten times as big in diameter as when it was water, such an atom would become specifically lighter than air, and rise so long, as that flatus or warm spirit that first separated it from the mass of water, shall continue to distend it to the same degree; and that warmth declining, and the air growing cooler and also specifically lighter, the vapours consequently shall stop at a certain region of the air, or else descend, which may happen upon several accounts, as I shall by and by endeavour to make out; yet I undertake not that this is the only principal cause of the rise of vapours, and that there may not be a certain sort of matter, whose conatus may be contrary to that of gravity, as is evident in vegetation, where the tendency of the sprouts is directly upwards, or against the perpendicular: but whatever is the true cause, it is in fact certain, that warmth does separate the particles of water, and emit them with a greater velocity as the heat is more and more intense; as is evident in the steam of a boiling cauldron, wherein likewise the velocity of the ascent of the vapours does visibly decrease till they disappear, being dispersed into and assimilated with the ambient air. Vapours being thus raised by warmth, let us only first suppose, that the whole surface of the globe to be all water very deep, or rather that the whole body of the earth to be water, and that the sun had its diurnal course about it: I take it, that it would follow, that the air of itself would imbibe a certain quantity of aqueous vapours, and retain them, like salts dissolved in water; that the sun warming the air, and raising a more plentiful vapour from the water in the day time, the air would

would sustain a greater proportion of vapour, as warm water will hold more dissolved salts, which upon the absence of the sun in the nights would be all again discharged in dews, analogous to the precipitation of salts on the cooling of the liquors; nor is it to be believed, that in such case there would be any diversity of weather, other than periodically, every year alike; the mixture of all terrestrial, saline, heterogeneous vapours being taken away, which, as they are variously compounded and brought by the winds, seem to be the causes of those various seasons which we now find. In this case the airy regions every where, at the same height, would be equally replenished with the proportion of water it could contain, regard being only to be had to the different degree of warmth, from the nearness or distance of the sun; and an eternal east wind would blow all round the globe, inclining only to the same side of the east, as the latitude doth from the equator, as is observed in the ocean between the tropics.

“ Next let us suppose this ocean interspersed with wide and spacious tracts of land, with high ridges of mountains, such as the Pyrenean, the Alps, the Appennine, the Carpathian in Europe, Taurus, Caucasus, Imaus, and several others in Asia; Atlas, and the Montes Lunæ, with other unknown ridges in Africa, whence came the Nile, the Niger, and the Zaire: and in America, the Andes, and the Apalachian mountains, each of which far surpass the usual height, to which the aqueous vapours of themselves ascend, and on the tops of which the air is so cold and rarified, as to retain but a small part of those vapours that shall be brought thither by winds: those vapours therefore that are raised copiously in the sea, and by the wind carried over the low land to those ridges of mountains, are there compelled, by the stream of the air, to mount up with it to the tops of the mountains, where the water presently precipitates, gleeing down by the crannies of the stone; and part of the vapour entering into the caverns of the hills, the water thereof gathers as in an alembic into the basons
of

of stone it finds, which being once filled, all the overplus of water that comes thither runs over by the lowest place, and breaking out by the sides of the hills, forms single springs: many of these running down by the vallies or guts between the ridges of the hills, and coming to unite, form little rivulets, or brooks: many of these again, meeting in one common valley, and gaining the plain ground, being less rapid, become a river, and many of these being united in one common channel, make such streams as the Rhine, the Rhone, the Danube; which latter, one would hardly think the collection of water condensed out of vapour, unless we consider how vast a tract of ground that river drains, and that it is the sum of all those springs, which break out on the south side of the Carpathian mountains, and on the north side of the immense ridge of the Alps, which is one continued chain of mountains from Switzerland to the Black sea: and it may almost pass for a rule, that the magnitude of a river, or the quantity of water it evacuates, is proportionable to the length and height of the ridges, from whence its fountains arise.

“ Now this theory of springs is not a bare hypothesis, but founded on experience, which it was my luck to gain in my abode at St. Helena, where, in the night time, on the tops of hills, about eight hundred yards above the sea, there was so strange a condensation, or rather precipitation of the vapours, that it was a great impediment to my celestial observations; for in the clear sky, the dew would fall so fast, as to cover, each half quarter of an hour, my glasses with little drops; so that I was necessitated to wipe them so often, and my paper on which I wrote my observations would immediately be so wet with dew, that it would not bear ink: by which it may be supposed how fast the water gathers in those mighty high ridges I just now mentioned. Thus is one part of the vapours blown upon the land returned by the rivers into the sea, from whence they came; another part by the cool of the night falls in dews, or else in rains again into the sea, before
it

it reaches the land, which is by much the greatest part of the whole vapours, because of the great extent of the ocean, which the motion of the wind does not traverse in a very long space of time; and this is the reason why the rivers do not return so much into the Mediterranean, as is extracted into vapour: a third part falls on the Low-Lands, and is the pabulum of plants, where yet it does not rest, but is again exhaled in vapour by the action of the sun, and is either carried by the winds to the sea, to fall in rain or dew there, or else to the mountains to be there turned into springs; and though this does not immediately come to pass, yet after several vicissitudes of rising in vapour, and falling in rain or dews, each particle of the water is at length returned to the sea from whence it came: add to this, that the rain waters, after the earth is fully sated with moisture, do, by the valleys or lower parts of the earth, find their way into the rivers, and so are compendiously sent back to the sea: after this manner is the circulation performed, and I doubt not, that this hypothesis is more reasonable than that of those, who derive all springs from the rain waters, which yet are perpetual, and without diminution, even when no rain falls for a long space of time; or that derive them from a filtration or percolation of the sea waters through certain imaginary tubes or passages within the earth, wherein they lose their saltiness: this, besides many others, labouring under this principal absurdity, that the greatest rivers have their most copious fountains further from the sea, and whither so great quantities of fresh water cannot reasonably be derived any other way than in vapour: this, if we may allow final causes, seems to be the design of the hills, that their ridges being placed through the midst of the continents, might serve as it were for alembics to distil fresh water for the use of man and beast, and their heights to give a descent to those streams to run gently, like so many veins of the microcosm, to be the more beneficial to the creation. If the difference between rain and dew, and the cause why sometimes it is cloudy,
at

at other times serene, be enquired, I can offer nothing like a proper solution thereof, only with submission to propose conjectures, which are the best I can find, viz.

“ That the air being heaped up by the meeting of two contrary
 “ winds, when the mercury is high, the vapours are the better
 “ sustained and kept from coagulating, or condensing into drops,
 “ whereby clouds are not so easily generated, and in the night,
 “ the vapours fall down single, as they rose in imperceptible atoms
 “ of water: whereas, when the mercury is low, and the air rari-
 “ fied by the exhausting thereof, by two contrary winds blowing
 “ from the place, the atoms of air keep the vapours not so well
 “ separated, and they coalesce into visible drops in the clouds, and
 “ from thence are easily drawn into greater drops of rain, to
 “ which it is possible, and not improbable, that some sort of saline,
 “ or angular particles of terrestrial vapour being immixed with the
 “ aqueous, which I take to be bubbles, may cut or break their
 “ skins or coats, and so contribute to their more speedy condensa-
 “ tion into rain.”

CHAP. II.

A DESCRIPTION OF CADIZ, WITH A PLAN; AND MANY PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO ITS STRENGTH AND COMMERCE.

GADES has produced a great many illustrious and learned men: L. Junius Moderatus Columella, author of the book of husbandry, was born there, as also Canius, a poet, in the reign of Galba.

Otho, the Roman emperour, was the first who joined Mauritania Tingitana to Bætica, making it the jurisdiction of Gades.

Balbus, one of Cæsar's most zealous partisans, was a native of Gades, or, according to others, of Carteia: Sidonius Apollinaris commends some memoirs written by Balbus after the manner of a

journal: "Quis Balbi ephemeridem, says he, fando adæquaverit?" "Who can sufficiently express the value of Balbus's journal?" He was admitted to the rights of a Roman citizen; and had the glory of being the first foreigner who was honoured with this mark of distinction, in the seven hundred and twenty-ninth year of Rome; Augustus wisely overlooking ancient customs to honour and reward valour, without distinction, in men of all nations (1).

Domitia Paulina, the mother of Adrian, was born also at Gades.

To recite the whole number of great men this country produced before superstition took so vast a hold of the natives, would swell this work too much: I shall therefore only observe, that the period, when arts and sciences began first to flourish in Spain, can only be conjectured: that they had an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, and mentioning three only, of the most illustrious, to wit (2), the famed stoic philosopher Seneca, the learned orator Quintilian, and the great cosmographer Pomponius Mela, with emperours, consuls, tribunes, quæstors, &c. And though other European nations are found to have been very slow and late in cultivating the arts and sciences, such as the Gauls, Germans, and others, who affected a singular contempt for them, as unsuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, considering the vast concourse of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent situation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reasonable to suppose, that they began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and it seems indeed almost impossible they could have subsisted without them, considering the continual invasions to which they were exposed, and the many enemies they were forced to

(1) Univ. Hist. Vol. XIII. B. III. c. xvii. p. 513.
B. IV. c. xxiv. p. 495.

(2) Idem, Vol. XVIII.

engage. Even learning, and the liberal arts, began, says Strabo (3), early to flourish here; for he says, that the Turditani, a people of Bætica, were become very famous for them, and were possessed of a vast number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of laws written in verse, and other pieces of poetry of above six thousand years standing, which last, however exaggerated, doth at least shew, that there was some foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of several kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by several other ancient authors, particularly one of their own nation (4), but more manifestly by what Pliny writes (5), of one Lartius Licinius, a private person, who made no difficulty to give an immense sum, no less than forty thousand nummi for a book of Pliny the younger's commentaries.

Gades has had her earls and dukes; but in one thousand four hundred and ninety-two, king Ferdinand and Isabella, upon the death of the duke of Cadiz, thought it more expedient to give the title of the duke of Arcos to his son don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, together with a certain number of vassals, and an annual pension, than to suffer the port and island of Cadiz to remain in the hands of that or any other family (6).

Cadiz was called by the Romans Gades, by the Phœnicians Gaddir or Gaddir, i. e. an inclosure, or place hedged round, and by mistake some of the Ancients have given it the name of Tartessus. The Tyrians first built it, and after them it was possessed by the Carthaginians, from them it descended to the Romans, then to the Goths; and when the Moors prevailed, it was demolished by that jealous people; and long after rebuilt by the Spaniards, when they had re-established themselves in this part of Spain: however, upon the advancement of the Christians in Spain, towards the coast of the Straits' mouth, I find they must have repossessed them-

(3) Lib. III. (4) Pomp. Sil. Ital. Columel. Martial. Lucan. & alii. (5)
Epist. lib. III. (6) Luc. Marin. Sicul.

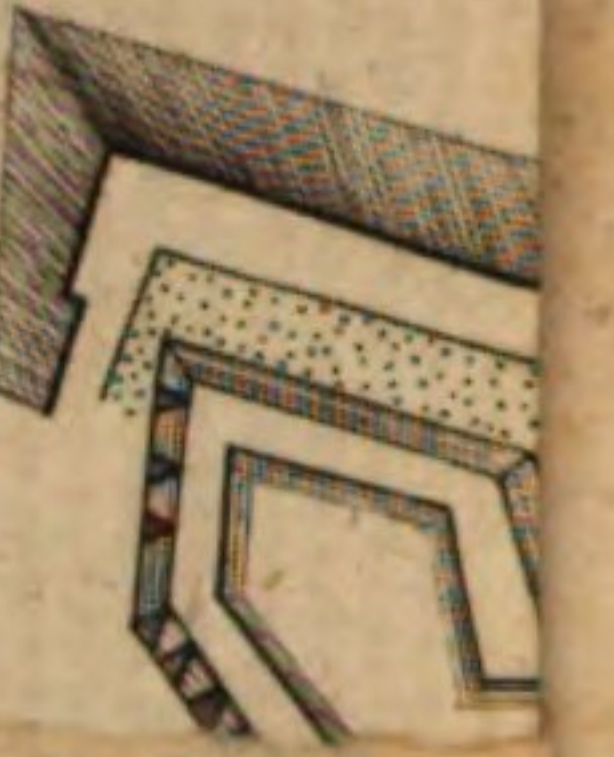
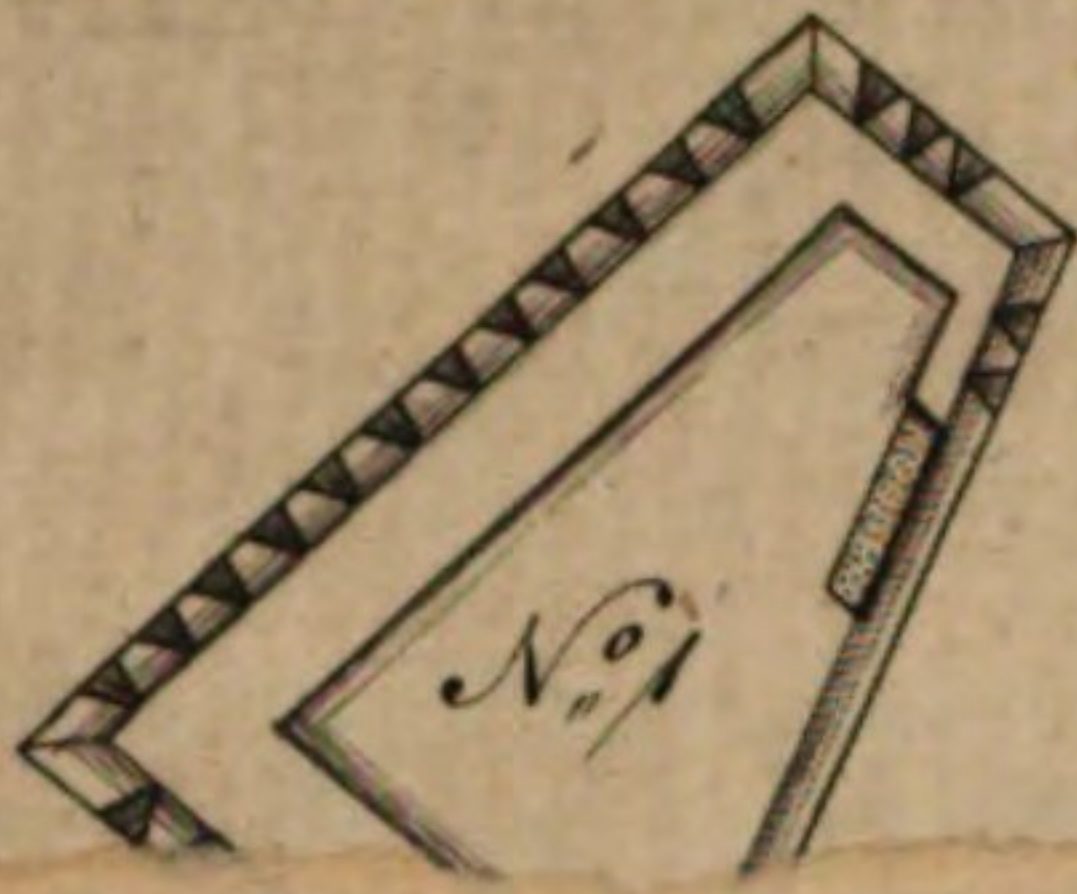
selves of Cadiz, and once more fortified that place; for prince Peter, in the reign and minority of Alphonso the eleventh, whose province was to take care of Atala and Andalusia, marched at the head of a great convoy, to relieve Cadiz, which wanted it, and defeated a considerable body of Moors, who would have opposed him, killing fifteen hundred of them: and in one thousand two hundred and sixty-nine don Alphonso went to Seville to oppose himself against the king of the Moors, and to prevent the designs of conspirators, summoning to the assembly thereof all his knights and other faithful subjects; having raised a great army, an occasion offered to attack Cadiz, which was now in possession of the Moors, he did therefore suddenly assail, and took the city and island, being neglected and ill guarded, which was under the protection of the king of Morocco. Here the Christians got great spoil; but as he wanted people to establish a colony, he left it in the possession of the Moors (7).

After this, the Spaniards took that place, which has been ever since watched with a cautious eye, though not with that attention the port merits.

It is a famous trading city of Andalusia, built on the N. W. extremity of the long and irregular neck of land of an island which extends itself from S. E. to N. W. the eastern part of which is called Cadiz, and the S. E. part the island of Leon: it is joined to the main land, from which only a narrow channel or arm of the sea separates it, by means of the bridge Suaco, both ends of this being defended by redoubts, and other works thrown up of earth. The island, from fort St. Catharine, to the island of St. Pedro, raised on an end of flat rocks projecting eighteen hundred yards from the south end of the isle of Leon, which defends that part, and covers the entrance of St. Peter's river, and meanders round the isle: it makes a vast variety of indented creeks on the continent, and a

(7) Turquet, B. XII. p. 296.

Plan of the Bay and



large arm runs up to the town of Chicalana. This part of the continent round to Port Royal, is low meadow or marshy ground; the back land rises, and produces grain.

I must refer the following description of the country to the plan of the bay of Cadiz, &c.

Plan of the bay and town of Cadiz, the river of St. Lucar de Barameda and its environs.

A Cadiz.	L St. Peter's river.
B the Pontal.	M isle of Cadiz.
C the Matagorde.	N St. Peter's river.
D fort St. Sebastian.	O the river Guadalete.
E fort St. Catharine.	P fort St. Catharine.
F port St. Mary.	Q town of Rotta.
G port Royal.	R Nostra Senora de Regla.
H fort St. Louis.	S St. Lucar's river.
I the bay of Cadiz.	T the town of St. Lucar.
K the town of Chicalana.	V the Channel.

	[Redoubts intended to be made]	The second re-
The first redoubt	in the two shoals at the en-	doubt in the large
in the small shoal,	trance of the river St. Lucar,	shoal at the en-
No. 1.	projected by Mr. de Ros-	trance of the said
	mair, engineer.	river, No. 2.

No. 3. This battery, below the town of St. Lucar, at the point of a rock which projects into the river between the village Chiffona and St. Lucar.

The signal battery on the point of a great shoal which Mr. Rosmair proposed to make near W.

Regla battery. This battery is at the point of a rock at the entrance of the river St. Lucar, No. 4. It is well defended.

X The signal tower. This tower is opposite the shoals at the entrance of the river, from the other side of St. Lucar: it is from this.

this tower that the town and each side of the river receive the signals of the fleets, vessels, and gallees which come either from the western ocean, or the Mediterranean.

No. 6. Battery de las Madranas.

Rotta battery, No. 7. This battery is on the right in going towards Nuestra Senora de Regla, it is a good defence, but the enemy's ships avoided it by the quantity of water that they found to go into Cadiz.

Battery on Rotta point, No. 8. This battery is on the point of a rock.

Gueto battery, No. 20.

Vermecca battery, No. 11.

The Miraglos battery, No. 12.

The Moraleca, No. 14.

Fort St. Catharine, taken at the descent of the English, No. 13.

Fort St. Sebastian, on the side D.

Redoubts of the Swifts bridge.

The Swifts bridge, No. 15.

Matagorde fort, on the side which looks towards the shore on the side C.

The Pontal fort, on the side B which faces the sea, and which defends the channel of the bay.

Z redoubts between the two seas, on the side Z. This work, which was made half way between the two seas, was constructed and projected by Mr. Darnous, intendant of the marine, but as it did not cover all the ground, and the enemy might go by without being seen by the redoubts, I have, says this engineer, projected the fort below, which covers all the ground by means of two ravelins, and small sluices: I fill the ditches with sea water when occasion requires it, as the ocean is higher than the bay, therefore they cannot communicate without hurting the bay. The marshal de Tessé much approved of this design.

M The

From the fort projected to defend the passage between the two seas. From the south point of the island at the mouth of St. Peter's river to the bridge on the same river, is above seven miles; and from the bridge to the north point, which forms itself like a horse-shoe, it is about two miles, and there the bay begins to indent to Port Royal, where the royal navy and the galleons from America ride, and is two miles distant from the north point, and nearly twice as far from the bridge.

To the eastward of this isthmus is a small island about a mile and a quarter long, and near three quarters of a mile broad, on the south part of which is a battery of five guns, called Fort St. Louis.

From the town of Port Royal projects an isthmus of land to the southward between the two bays, which is about three miles long, near a mile and a quarter broad towards the town, but not quite a mile at the end.

And near the south west point of it is another little island about three quarters of a mile long, and two hundred yards broad, on which is a small redoubt called la Matagorde, between which and the small isthmus of the isle of Leon, where there is a square fort called the Pontal, is the channel for ships up to the town of Port Royal and the Caraccas, where the navy rides.

The distance from the Matagorde to the Pontal is about three quarters of a mile, but the channel between them is not above half a mile broad, and the water in this channel is from seven and a half to eleven fathom at the north west point of the isthmus opposite the town of Port Royal; St. Peter's river empties itself into the western bay.

On both sides of the isthmus, likewise, on the isle of Leon, are large shoals of sand, some projecting above a mile from the shore.

About three miles and a half to the westward, the river St. Peter empties itself into the bay, the river Guadalete falls into it, on the west bank, and near the mouth of which, stands Port

St. Mary, and almost three miles to the southward, where the bay opens wider, is fort St. Catharine, which was taken at the descent of the English: and from fort St. Catharine the bay forms a quarter of a circle to the town of Rotta, which is on the west point of the mouth of the bay, opposite the town of Cadiz, and distant from it near seven miles. The coast then runs about north west for ten miles to Nostra Senora de Regla, where there is a work that contains twenty-six pieces of cannon, which commands the entrance of the river St. Lucar.

On the coast between Nostra Senora de Regla, and the town of Rotta, as well as from Rotta to fort St. Catharine, are several small forts.

About three miles to the eastward of Nostra Senora de Regla stands the town of St. Lucar, on the bank of the river St. Lucar; and between them stands the village of Chiffona, and below St. Lucar is a battery of twenty-six pieces on the point of a rock, which projects into the sea, and nearly opposite to this on the other side of the river on the point of a great shoal is the signal battery of sixteen guns: above the signal battery on a rising ground stands the signal tower, from whence the town and coasts receive signals of the fleets, ships, and gallies which come from the western ocean and the Mediterranean: at the entrance into the river St. Lucar, are two shoals, on each of which is a redoubt.

The isle of Leon itself produces little corn, but good Spanish wine; and upon it are some pasture grounds, and on the side of the harbour great quantities of salt are made. The fishery here is also very considerable, and particularly great numbers of thunny fish are caught, which are commonly from six to eight, and sometimes ten feet long. The neck of land which shoots from the isle of Leon to the city of Gades, is very narrow, and then becomes something broader, with several windings and angles, terminating at last in two head lands, the principal and most westerly of which is called St. Sebastian's.

The

The city is pretty large in circuit, yet all the large end of the neck of land is not built upon, and the delightful west side which is called Sancto Campo, or the church court, is almost uninhabited, the only building upon it being a spacious hospital and two chapels, on account of its being not so commodious for the landing of vessels as the east side.

Most of the streets are narrow, crooked, indifferently paved, and dirty: but some of them are broad, strait, and well paved. The houses are generally between three and four stories high, nearly all of them have a quadrangular area, or what Cervantes says, the base court; and several of them are very handsome, besides which, in hot countries are very beneficial, particularly if they have a tump of orange, citrons, lemons, and pomegranates, or a tinkling fount: the luxuriant vine adds shade and beauty.

The lodgings and provisions are generally dear.

The city is in want of fresh water: and in it are reckoned thirteen convents, among which is also a jesuit's college, said to be the finest in Andalusia; and yet has but one parish church, which is the cathedral, though the number of its ordinary inhabitants amounts to forty thousand, and it contains about five thousand houses. Its bishop is a suffragan to the metropolitan of Seville, with an annual revenue of twelve thousand (Moll says twenty thousand) ducats: his diocese consists but of fourteen parishes. Here is the royal audience of the Indians, or the Indian board of trade, removed hither from Seville. Both before and after the arrival of the Spanish flota from America, and their sailing from Cadiz thither again, this place is very brisk and stirring, from the great number of strangers, who come for the sake of trade, and said to amount to fifty thousand. It is the center of all the American trade, to which port the English, French, Dutch, and Italian merchants send their goods, which Spanish factors, in their respective names, put on board the ships for America. Besides these just

mentioned, all others, who trade by sea, have their agents, correspondents, and commissioners at Cadiz; and the consuls of the aforesaid nations make a considerable figure here.

No people are happier than the trading people of Cadiz; for they seldom hazard any thing upon their own account, and enrich themselves at the cost of those who send them goods: let things go as they will, they are at no loss. What goods are sent from Spain itself to America are but very inconsiderable. The duty paid by foreign goods is uncommonly great; consequently the profits of the merchants and their agents are less than they might otherwise be, were they sufficiently acquainted with the methods of improving their goods duty-free. The harbour and bay of Cadiz is very fine and spacious; and for the defence of the entrance into it, is not only fort Matagorda, but also fort Pontal, lying opposite to it upon a point of the neck of land on which Cadiz stands. The Spaniards commonly call both these Los Pontales: between them and the points of land on which the two forts stand, the entrance into the harbour, according to Labat, is about five hundred fathoms broad: at ebb tide a great part of the harbour, which is said to be ten French leagues in circuit, lies dry. The outer and furthest bay, which begins between Rotta and St. Sebastian, and which extends itself to Puerto de Santa Maria, is divided into two parts by the rocks Los Pueros and Diamante.

Cadiz is surrounded with walls and irregular bastions, according as the situation of the ground would admit of them. There is no approaching on the south side, by reason of its high and steep shore. At present it is dangerous landing on the north side, as here are sand banks and rocks under water: but on the S. W. side there is a landing place, at which stands a small fort called St. Catharine: towards the S. W. point is a ridge of rocks, which at time of flood are partly covered with water: the outermost of these

these is a small island, upon which is a watch tower and light-house, together with two chapels, as also fort St. Sebastian stands there.

As Cadiz then can be no where attempted, but at the narrowest part of the neck of land lying between it and the S. E. part of Leon, this has also been fortified: but in one thousand five hundred and ninety-six, the English, under the earl of Essex, landing on the island, took and burnt the town, having plundered it of immense treasure, and destroyed the galleons in the harbour: after which they quitted the place: but in one thousand seven hundred and two, landing again under the duke of Ormond, on the continent near St. Mary's, in order to attack the Pontal, but not being able to reduce it, they were obliged to re-embark, without effecting any thing but several misdemeanours at St. Mary's, for which some of the officers were disgraced and broke.

Hercules's pillars, which are said to have stood at the above-mentioned neck of land, are, according to Labat's account, only a couple of round towers, made of mason work, which in all appearance served anciently for wind-mills. Cadiz lies forty-five miles from Gibraltar (8).

At Cadiz, says the reverend Dr. Clarke (9), there are some fine pictures of Morello, particularly an altar-piece, from whence he fell and lost his life. There are great Roman remains and inscriptions in the high church, and bits of columns every where serving as thresholds and posts. In the corner of one house they have stuck into the wall, the remains of a consular toga: in one convent there is a sarcophagus, with curious marble bas-reliefs. They discovered about the year one thousand seven hundred and sixty-two, a beautiful column. In short, the place is plainly a mount, made up of ruins, so that, says my author, they can hardly stir the ground, but the rubbish turns up something curious.

(8) Geograph. Dictionary. (9) Clarke's Spanish Nation, Letter XI. p. 208.

At Cadiz there is established an academy of marine guards, who are maintained there, to the number of one hundred and fifty, at the expence of the finances of his catholic majesty.

This province of Andalusia is, doubtless, the finest in Spain: it abounds in wines, fine fruits, oil, vast quantities of silk, grain, honey, sugar, horses, metals, &c. and contains many eminent and mercantile places.

St. Lucar de Barrameda, which is a well built but declining town, at the mouth of the river Guadalquivir, where it has a good harbour: its principal trade is salt.

Port St. Mary's enjoys a flourishing trade; it lies at the mouth of the little river Guadalete, directly opposite to Cadiz, and exceeds it in compass of ground, though scarcely containing eight thousand people. Here reside, in peaceable times, great numbers of English, French, Dutch, Genoese, &c. merchants. Its harbour is the rendezvous of some of the Spanish galleys; and here they make great quantities of salt.

But it is Cadiz that is the most eminent and commercial city, and the proper center of the whole Spanish American commerce; " Hither, continues Mr. Anderson (1), other European nations
" send their merchandize, to be shipped off in Spanish bottoms
" for America, sheltered (or as the old English phrase has it, coloured)
" under the names of Spanish factors. Those foreign nations
" have here their agents and correspondents, and the consuls of
" those nations make a considerable figure. Cadiz has been said
" to have the finest store-houses and magazines for commerce of
" any city in Europe; and to it the flota and galleons regularly
" import the treasures of Spanish America. The proper Spanish
" merchandizes exported from Cadiz to America are of no great
" value; but the duty on the foreign merchandize sent thither
" would yield a great revenue, (and consequently the profits of

(1) Anderson on Commerce, appendix, p. 96, 97.

“merchants and their agents would sink) were it not for the
“many fraudulent practices for eluding those duties.”

The Spaniards call the two forts of Matagorda and the Pontal, the Pontals: and when an enemy's fleet approaches Cadiz, and thereupon the galleons, &c. are said to be placed behind the Pontals, it is thereby meant, that they are then out of danger from an attack or assault.

The number of ships that entered the port of Cadiz, in the said year one thousand seven hundred and thirty-four, were, five hundred and ninety-six English, two hundred and twenty-eight French, one hundred and forty-seven Hollanders, thirteen Swedish, fourteen Danes, two Portuguese, two Genoese, one Lubecker, and one Hamburger: in all, one thousand and four ships (2).

In the same year, there arrived at Cadiz the treasure and effects of the flota, viz. 11,011,749 dollars or pieces of eight, in specie, for the commerce, and 1,464,582 for the king: in all, 12,476,331, or about three millions and a half sterling, exclusive of almost five millions of dollars by the assogue ships, and vast quantities of cochineal, indigo, sugar, chocolate, tobacco, snuff, hides, cocoa, copper, drugs, and dying stuffs.

Whilst Sir Benjamin Keene, the British minister, was treating with the court of Madrid of all the commercial differences between the two nations, our London merchants, who traded to Cadiz, handed about a manuscript paper, tending to prove, that the trade by the south sea company's annual ship directly to the Spanish West Indies was not so beneficial to the British nation in general, as was the former method of our sending goods directly to Cadiz, and thence with the register ships to the Spanish West Indies (3).

(2) Idem, Vol. II. p. 353.

(3) Idem, p. 389.

“First,

Dollars.

“ First, That paper supposes the whole out-set (ship
 “ and all) of a ship of six hundred tons, with her car- } 346,903
 “ go, from Cadiz to La Vera Cruz, to amount to }
 “ Secondly, And the nett returns from La Vera } 717,134½
 “ Cruz, (deducting commission, indultos, &c. to be }
 “ deduct the outset ————— 346,903

“ and then remains the profit ————— 370,231½
 “ being near one hundred and seven per cent. profit: but, if
 “ insurances are deducted for those, who would not run the risque
 “ of the sea, and which in time of peace would not exceed twelve
 “ per cent. then the remaining profit would be ninety-five per
 “ cent. but the chief advantage in this affair is supposed to arise
 “ from having both the ship and the king's licence one's own:
 “ for (says this author) beside the considerable freights which
 “ such ships make, there are very great profits made by the pri-
 “ vileged goods embarked thereon.

“ Thirdly, Next, we have the particular assortments of such a
 “ cargo, with the several countries from whence they are had,
 “ viz.

“ First,

Dollars.

“ First, Purchased chiefly at Cadiz (though not all	
“ Spanish merchandize) iron, wrought or unwrought,	
“ steel, wax, (which must be whitened at Cadiz (Ge-	
“ noa paper, Brabant linen, Dutch knives, wines,	46,300
“ brandy, and sundry ordinary stowage goods, amount-	
“ ing in all to — — —	
“ Secondly, British manufactures, viz. long-ells of	
“ various colours, foys, shalloons, hair and worsted cam-	
“ blets, bays, Spanish cloths, worsted stockings, hats,	115,500
“ and hardware; in all — — —	
“ Thirdly, From Flanders, stamins, coarse foys,	
“ buratos, lamparillas, Brabant linen, bleached, and	15,800
“ Tournay ditto, unbleached — — —	
“ Fourthly, From France, Britannias (broad and	
“ narrow) Rouen linen, bleached dowlas, Morlaix li-	49,350
“ nen, cambricks, and lawns; amounting to	
“ Fifthly, From Germany, Silesia and Hamburgh	
“ linens, lawns, and sundry other sorts of linen, thread,	22,200
“ callimancoes, &c. — — —	
“ Sixthly, From Spain, Genoa women's stock-	
“ ings, Spanish double taffaty of various colours, and	21,000
“ Spanish velvets — — —	
“ Total amount of the cargo in dollars	270,150

“ In this assortment of goods for the Spanish West Indies, the
 “ British manufactures make up one-third of the whole, which
 “ must go by the way of Cadiz, in case the assiento of the South
 “ Sea company be laid aside; and by its being so laid aside, the
 “ value of all English goods sent from Cadiz to the Spanish West
 “ Indies, will be increased to at least three millions of dollars, or
 “ above six hundred and seventy-five thousand pounds sterling,
 “ yearly: and supposing, that in time of peace, nine millions
 “ value

“ value in goods to be annually sent from Cadiz to the Spanish
 “ West Indies, exclusive of British manufactures, few of which
 “ (according to this author) were sent that way whilst the assiento
 “ was in exercise, and therefore be added the said three millions
 “ in value of British manufactures, then the dispatches yearly from
 “ Cadiz to the Spanish West Indies will be twelve millions of dol-
 “ lars: now, continues this author, allowing that the British
 “ merchants should, as easily they may, be one-third concerned in
 “ the said trade, which on a moderate computation renders at least
 “ fifty per cent. profit, or two millions of dollars more gained to
 “ our nation. This he thinks, just enough from his own pre-
 “ mises, which, says Mr. Anderson, however seem considerably ex-
 “ aggerated, will be found to exceed any advantage that has, or
 “ ever can proceed from the assiento, by which it is notorious that
 “ the South Sea company have lost very considerably. He therefore
 “ concludes, that the commercial interest of Great Britain will be
 “ much benefited by the extinction of the assiento: and, with
 “ respect to our political interest, whilst the said assiento subsists,
 “ it will prove a continual bone of contention between two na-
 “ tions, whose mutual interests are, more than any other two na-
 “ tions in Europe, to be closely united.”

The first assiento between England and Spain, was made at
 London about the year one thousand six hundred and eighty-nine,
 for supplying the Spanish West Indies with negro slaves, from the
 island of Jamaica (4).

By the famous treaty of Utrecht, in the year one thousand seven
 hundred and thirteen, article the twelfth, is granted (5), “ To
 “ her Britannic majesty, and to the company of her subjects
 “ appointed for that purpose (i. e. the South Sea company) as
 “ well the subjects of Spain as all others being excluded, the contract

(4) Idem, Vol. II. p. 192,

(5) Idem, p. 126.

“ for introducing of negroes into several parts of the dominions of
 “ his catholic majesty in America (commonly called El Pacto del
 “ Asiento de Negros) at the rate of four thousand eight hundred
 “ negroes yearly, for the space of thirty years successively, begin-
 “ ning from the first of May one thousand seven hundred and
 “ thirteen, on the same conditions on which the French company
 “ had formerly enjoyed it.”

[Here, says Anderson, we originally intended to have inserted the South Sea company's asiento contract at large: but, says he, as that contract, as well as all the company's other commerce whatever, is long since laid aside, we shall spare our readers the trouble of enlarging on a subject not likely to be ever hereafter renewed.]

[N. B. It is said, that the British ministers at first demanded a free trade for Great Britain to Spanish America: but that was a mere illusion, since it would have inflamed the jealousy of all the rest of Europe: yet surely, considering the service they had done to king Philip, they might have obtained a more favourable asiento, since it was confessed, that all former asientists had actually been losers, although on as good terms as the present asiento, excepting only the annual ship, which king Philip allowed to the South Sea company, for the said term of thirty years, of five hundred tons burden, (Spanish measure) wherewith the said company was to trade to Spanish America; but of which the catholic king reserved one-fourth, besides five per cent. on the other three-fourths of the gain: thus did our said ministers, in this respect at least, suffer us and the South Sea company to be outwitted by the Spanish ministers. It was universally known, that the Portuguese company the first, and next the French one, were undone by their asiento contracts for supplying the Spanish West Indies with negroes: and this sugar plumb of an annual trading ship granted to our company was too much clogged with the above difficulties to prove of any certain advantage, more especially con-

considering how much the court of Madrid had it in their power to suspend the licence for any such annual ship, &c. as they often practised, and to seize on the company's effects in America at pleasure.]

The earl of Oxford, lord high treasurer of Great Britain, and then governour of the South Sea company, did, in a general court of that company, on the second of June, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, acquaint that court, "That her majesty had presented the company with the before-mentioned assiento contract; and had also procured for them two licenses from the king of Spain for two ships of six hundred tons each, for carrying merchandize the first year to the northern ports of the Spanish West Indies, beside the annual ship of five hundred tons:" whereupon the company (flushed with such pompous appearances) issued two hundred thousand pounds more in bonds, for vigorously carrying on the said trade: and her majesty lent two of her own ships, to be the said two first licensed ships, for carrying over the company's goods, factors, and servants. But yet the court of directors were not a little surprised to find, that the queen had reserved to herself, or to her assigns, another quarter part of the said assiento, beside her grant of seven and a half per cent. to don Manuel Manasses Gilligan, the Spanish agent at her court, out of the clear profits of the annual ship: yet she afterward assigned her said quarter part of the assiento to the company, on condition that the company should (beside the above grant to Gilligan) assign twenty-one and a quarter per cent. of the clear profits of the annual ship to persons, whom she would afterwards name, who were then said to be lord Bolingbroke, lady Masham, and Arthur Moore, Esq; Such were then the wild and ill-grounded expectations from this new trade: yet, on better advice, the queen gave up entirely to the company her said quarter part of the supposed profits, to the no small mortification of the above named and other courtiers, as was then commonly reported, and generally believed.

Mr.

Mr. Anderson gives us an amendment made at Madrid to the South Sea company in one thousand seven hundred and seventeen (6).

Mr. Bubb, the British minister, in behalf of the South Sea company, now concluded a treaty by way of an explanation or amendment of the *asiento* contract for negroes: but as that trade has been long since laid aside, we shall not, says my author, detain our readers with what is elsewhere in print, and may likewise probably be of very little information or use to any at this time, or perhaps at any other period of time: only we may just remark, that the annual ship allowed, was stipulated to be of six hundred and fifty tons, Spanish measure, from the year one thousand seven hundred and seventeen to the year one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven.

In one thousand seven hundred and forty-eight, the general peace of Aix la Chapelle was concluded (7): when, with respect to Spain, she acceded to the general tranquillity; but without any particular stipulations in point of commerce between Great Britain and her. What related to the South Sea company's commerce on one hand, and the depredations of the Spanish *guarda costas* on the other, being referred to the disagreeable and tedious way of negotiating, by Sir Benj. Keene, at Madrid: in the mean time, it was plain, that the court of Spain never intended to permit another annual South Sea ship to trade to their West Indies, there being but about four years to run of the term of that contract, viz. forty years from one thousand seven hundred and thirteen to one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, the several interruptions of the trade being deducted or allowed for: and whilst this suspension continued, many things passed in conversation, and sundry essays were published for and against that manner of trading. In favour of it, it was said, that the great an-

(6) Vol. II. p. 272.

(7) *Idem*, p. 388.

annual ship usually conveyed about two hundred and fifty thousand pounds value in manufactures from hence to the Spanish West Indies, for the company's account; and that in each of those great ships there went about fifty thousand pounds more in private trade: upon which trade, it was alledged, a profit of near cent. per cent. was made: that therefore the gain to the nation was greater this way than in or by the old channel of our trade by the way of Cadiz, even though the Jamaica smuggling trade was included therein: and that, although the South Sea company might not be so great gainers, yet their factors, agents, &c. brought home great fortunes, frequently in a very short space of time; and our said annual ships cargoes kept out the supplying of the Spanish West Indies by the French, Dutch, &c. to our nation's great emolument.

On the other hand, it was asserted, and very generally believed, that the South Sea annual ship had occasioned a vast decrease of our annual exports to Spain, (some said even so much as to one half of former exports) whilst at the same time our imports from Spain have been gradually increasing: that the superiority of our arms forced the assiento contract on Spain against their inclinations, and on that score the Spanish court and traders have discouraged our manufactures formerly sent to Cadiz, and encouraged those of France, Flanders, and Holland: that of the cargoes of our said annual ship itself, a great deal consisted of the merchandize of foreign nations, and particularly of those of France and Holland, for assortments for the Spanish markets in America: that the assiento contract had enhanced the price of negroes for our own colonies: that our supplying the Spanish West Indies so regularly with negroes had encouraged them to raise greater quantities of sugar and tobacco, to the detriment of our own: that the Spanish court having always effects of the South Sea company's in their American ports, had it constantly in their power to make seizures of those effects on various and often unjust pretences.

pretences. Thus in the year one thousand seven hundred and eighteen, the company's loss hereby was computed at about two hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds sterling; in one thousand seven hundred and twenty-seven, to about half as much more; besides the seizure by the war now concluded, and not yet justly computed, and the many other violences of the Spanish American governours and agents. Finally, as the company had undoubtedly, upon the whole, been losers by their trade, and as they had only four years more of their assiento term remaining, which Spain was determined not to renew, at least on any promising conditions; for these and such like reasons, it was concluded by the British court, to instruct her minister at Madrid, to obtain the best equivalent that could be procured for the remaining short term of the company's assiento contract.

In one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three there entered into the port of Cadiz eleven hundred ships; and in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, English one hundred and fourteen, Dutch one hundred and fifty-five, Spanish one hundred and ninety-five, French nineteen, Portuguese twenty-three, Swedish seventeen, Danish twenty-four, Genoese thirteen, Imperial sixteen, Venetian two, Neapolitan seven, Ragusan thirteen, and Maltese seven. This much smaller number than usual (especially of English) is owing to the late war: and in one thousand seven hundred and sixty-one, there arrived the following number, viz.

English

English	87	whereof thirteen were ships of war.
Dutch	99	whereof sixteen were ships of war.
Danish	41	
French	22	whereof four were ships of war.
Spanish	195	whereof thirty-two were ships of war.
Portuguese	19	
Imperial	11	
Ragufans	8	
Maltese	4	
Genoese	2	
Savoyards	1	
Neapolitan	5	

494 ships.

The master-builder at Cadiz, receives annually 304l. 3s.

The royal audience of commerce to the Indies, at Cadiz (8).

	l.	s.	d.
A president, four commissioners, a fiscal, great treasurer, a depositary, a comptroller, a secretary, and two porters, the expence with extraordinaries	330	1	0 0

To support the academy of mathematics at Cadiz 1888 17 10

Annual produce of tobacco in Cadiz 37902 4 5

We get from Cadiz raw silk, balsam of Peru, vanillas, cake-chocolate of Guajaca, sarsaparilla, salted sea-brizzle, saltpetre, salt, and salt from port St. Mary's; snuff, soap, and several drugs of the growths of Spain and America used in medicine. As for what comes from other parts of Spain to Britain, I shall not mention, as it is quite foreign to this work.

The Spanish trade to South America is carried on by annual ships, usually divided into three classes, the flota, the register ships, and galleons; of which take the following account, in the next chapter.

(8) Clarke's Spanish Nation, p. 226—235.

C H A P. III.

OF CADIZ.

THE flota is a fleet consisting of three men of war, and fourteen or fifteen merchant ships, from four hundred to a thousand tons burden (1); they are loaded with almost every sort of goods which Europe produces for export; all sorts of woollens, linens, silks, velvets, laces, glass, paper, and cutlery; all sorts of wrought iron, watches, clocks, quicksilver for the use of their miners, horse furniture, shoes, stockings, books, pictures, military stores, wines, fruits, &c. so that all the trading parts of Europe are highly interested in the cargo of this fleet. Spain itself sends out little more than the wine and fruit; this, with the freight, and commissions to the merchants, and the duty to the king, is almost all the advantage, which that kingdom derives from her commerce from the Indies. This fleet is fitted out at Cadiz, and bound to La Vera Cruz; they are not permitted to break bulk on any account till they arrive there: when all the goods are landed, and disposed of at La Vera Cruz, the fleet takes in the plate, precious stones, cochineal, indigo, cocoa, tobacco, sugar, and hides, which are the returns for Old Spain. From La Vera Cruz they sail to the Havannah in the island of Cuba, which is the place of their rendezvous, where they meet the galleons: these are another fleet, which carry on all the trade of Terra Firma, by Carthagena, and of Peru, by Panama and Portobello, in the same manner as the flota serves for the trade of New Spain. When the flota arrives at the Havannah, and joins the galleons and register ships, which assemble at the same port from all quarters, some of the cleanest and best sailing vessels are

(1) Vid. Clarke's Spanish Nation, p. 257.

dispatched.

dispatched to Old Spain, with advice of the contents of these several fleets, as well as with treasure and goods of their own, that the court may judge what indulto, or duty, is proper to be laid on them, and what convoy is necessary for their safety.

Register ships are sent out by merchants at Cadiz or Seville, when they judge that goods must be wanted at any certain port in the West Indies: the course is, to petition the council of the Indies for license to send a ship of three hundred tons burden, or under, to that port: they pay for this license forty or fifty thousand dollars, besides presents to the officers, in proportion to the connivance necessary to their design: for though the license runs only to three hundred tons at most, the vessel fitted out is seldom less than six hundred. This ship and cargo are registered at the pretended burden: it is required too, that a certificate be brought from the king's officer at the port, to which the register ship is bound, that she does not exceed the size at which she is registered; all this passes of course. These are what they call register ships, and by these the trade of Spanish America has been carried on principally for some years past: which practice has been thought as much to the prejudice of their trade, as it is contrary to all their former maxims for carrying it on.

La Vera Cruz is situated on the south west part of the gulf of Mexico, and to the south east of that city.

The fleet which is called the galleons, consists of eight men of war of five hundred tons each, designed principally to supply Peru with military stores; but in reality laden, not only with those, but also every other kind of merchandize on a private account, so as to be in too weak a condition either to defend themselves, or protect others: under the convoy of these are twelve sail of merchant ships, not inferior to the galleons in burden. This fleet of the galleons is regulated in much the same manner with the flota, and is destined for the exclusive commerce of Terra Firma and the South Sea, as the flota is for that of Mexico.

As

As soon as this galleon fleet arrives at Carthagena, expresses are dispatched to Portobello, and to all the adjacent towns, but particularly to Panama, that they may get ready all the treasure which is deposited there, to meet the galleons at Portobello; at which place, all the persons concerned in the various branches of this extensive trade, assemble. There is no part of the world where business of such great importance is negociated in so short a time; for in a fortnight the fair is over; during which, heaps of wedges and ingots of silver are thrown about upon the wharfs, as things of no value. The display of gold, silver, and precious stones on one hand, and of the various and rare workmanship of the several ingenious artificers of Europe on the other, are truly astonishing!

Carthagena is situated on the most northern point of Terra Firma. Portobello and Panama are on the opposite sides of the isthmus of Darien; the first on the north east side, and the other on the south west.

The whole trade between the East Indies and Spanish America, is carried on by one great galleon, which arrives at Acapulco from the Philippine islands, on the coast of China, in the month of December: they see no other land in their whole voyage of three thousand leagues, which they perform in five months, than the little Ladrões: the ship is laden with all the rich commodities of the east, as cloves, pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, china, japan wares, calicoes plain and painted, muslin of every sort, silks, precious stones, rich drugs, and gold dust: at the same time the rich ship from Lima comes in, and is not computed to bring less than two millions of pieces of eight in silver (four hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling): several other ships, from the different parts of Chili and Peru, meet upon the same occasion; and besides the traffick for the Philippine commodities, this causes a very large dealing for every thing, which those countries have to exchange with one another, as well as for the purchase of all sorts of European goods. The fair at Acapulco lasts sometimes for

thirty days. As soon as the goods are disposed of, the galleon prepares to set out on her voyage to the Philippines with her returns, chiefly in silver, but with some European goods too, and other commodities of America. I speak here, says Dr. Clarke, as though there was but one vessel on the trade with the Philippines; and in fact there is only nominally one trading vessel, the galleon itself being of about twelve hundred tons; but another attends her commonly as a sort of convoy, which generally carries such a quantity of goods, as in great measure disables her from performing that office: the galleon has often above one thousand people on board, either interested in the cargo, or merely passengers, and there is no trade, in which so large profits are made; the captain of the vessel, the pilots, the mates, and even the common sailors, making in one voyage, what in their several ranks may be considered as easy fortunes. It is said by the writer of lord Anson's voyage, that the jesuits have the profits of this ship to support their missions; but that is now over, as they are now extirpated from the Spanish nation.

This commerce, so very considerable, though carried on directly between different parts of the king of Spain's own dominions, enriches them in proportion but very little; the far greater part of every thing which comes from the Philippines, being the produce or fabrication of other countries. The Spaniards add none of the artificial value of labour to any thing. The Chinese are largely interested in this cargo; and it is to them they are indebted for the manufacturing such of their plate, as is wrought into any better fashion than rude ingots, or inelegant coins. When this Acapulco fair is over, the town is comparatively deserted; however, it remains for the whole year the most considerable port in Mexico for the trade with Peru and Chili, which is not very great. The East India goods brought here, are carried on truckles to Mexico, from whence what exceeds their own consumption is sent by land-carriage to La Vera Cruz, to pass over to Terra Firma, to the islands,

islands, and some even to Old Spain, though in no great quantity.

Acapulco lies two hundred miles south of Mexico, on the South Sea. Mexico, though no port, nor communicating with the sea by any navigable river, has a prodigious commerce, and is itself the center of all the trade that is carried on between America and Europe on the one hand, and between America and the East Indies on the other; for here the principal merchants reside, the greatest part of the business is negociated, and the goods that pass from Acapulco to La Vera Cruz, or from La Vera Cruz to Acapulco, for the use of the Philippines, and in a great measure for the use of Peru and Lima, all pass through this city, and employ an incredible number of horses and mules in the carriage. Hither all the gold and silver is sent to be coined; here the king's fifth is deposited; and here is wrought all that immense quantity of utensils and ornaments in plate, which is every year sent into Europe. Every thing here has the greatest air of magnificence and wealth: the shops glitter on all sides with the exposure of gold, silver, and jewels, and surprise yet more by the work of the imagination upon the treasures, which fill great chests piled up to the ceilings, whilst they wait the time of being sent to Old Spain.

The trade between Spain and her colonies in America, which has been just described, is the most considerable part of their external commerce, and the great support of their navy; for, till our last breach with France, very few of their ships are navigated into foreign parts; and the chief source that supplied the balance of their trade with other nations, arose from this branch. Their internal traffick is by no means proportionate to the numbers of their people, the natural advantages of their situation and climate, the abundance of raw materials, which the country produces, and their Indies supply them with; especially when we reflect on the many years of peace which they have enjoyed, and that com-

merce was never so much considered by the several European states, as it is in the present age.

The great error of the Spanish policy seems to be this, they never sufficiently attended to the truth of the following political maxim, "That industry, manual labour, and the arts, are more beneficial, and truer sources of wealth to a state, than the richest mines of gold and silver." Dazzled with the spoils of America, they turned their whole attention to seize the exclusive possession of those seeming riches; they neglected agriculture and manufactures, and contracted a contempt for the mechanick, and even liberal arts; in consequence of which, the country becoming daily less populous, their maritime and military strength soon declined. Of late years the Spanish ministry hath been fully sensible of this fatal mistake, and hath endeavoured to raise a spirit of industry among the people, by promoting the establishment of manufactures, in various parts of the kingdom: but though they have tempted the people, by exemption from taxes, and many other privileges, yet the progress they have made is not so considerable as might have been expected.

The Spaniards possessing the richest provinces of America, and being masters of all the silver and gold of the new world, would have been in condition to give law to Europe (2), if instead of enjoying Mexico, Peru, and Chili, as so many demesnes, they would only have formed settlements which would have thrown into their hands the whole trade of those kingdoms. Spain, very populous before the expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro, has weakened itself to conquer and preserve its American possessions. The Spaniards flocked in crowds to a country where fortune is lavish of her favours. The court of Madrid themselves countenanced these transmigrations; but they perceived at last, that Castile and Arragon, when stocked with people, were a more precious treasure than the mines of Peru and Chili.

(2) Tindal's *Rapin*, Vol. XII. in appendix, p. 433, &c.

In truth, the fields in Spain were deserted, the manufactures decayed, and the arts ceased to be cultivated: in this situation, of what benefit to the Spaniards are their American possessions? The English, French, and the Dutch, carry on the trade in their name, and of all the treasure that comes to Cadiz, there remains to Spain only the sums levied by the king for his indulto, and given to the natives of the country, who lend their name for the commerce: but it must be observed, that all this money and the sums which come to Madrid, otherways than by trade, can hardly pay for the foreign goods and wares, which the Spaniards consume, and are obliged to purchase.

It is commonly said to be a happiness for Europe, that Mexico, Peru, and Chili, are possessed by so idle and indolent a nation: this is an undeniable truth: but it is added, that if an active and stirring nation like the English, French, or Dutch, had subdued these kingdoms, they would make themselves masters of all the riches of the old and new world; and establishing their grandeur upon that foundation, they would quickly conquer their neighbours: yet this does not so plainly appear; for in the first place, it would be a weak undertaking to desire the conquest of the Spanish dominions in America: the late abbot du Bos has plainly demonstrated this proposition. In the next place, suppose this conquest is made, suppose the Spaniards are driven from all their maritime places, and the conqueror has penetrated into the country, and subdued the Americans: on this supposition, they who have any knowledge of the government of the Spaniards in the new world, of the state of their forces, and the nature of the country, will agree that such an undertaking will cost the victorious nation prodigiously dear: there will be a necessity to keep the vanquished under, and not to see a revolt in their new empire, as many troops at least must be sent as the Spaniards actually have there. Now it may be asked, what power would not be drained by such successes? the conquest of the Spanish Indies will therefore

fore ruin the nation that should make it, and would consequently cause no alteration in the affairs of Europe: for it little concerns trading states, that Peru, Mexico, and Chili, are in the hands of the Spaniards, or any other nation, provided the possessors of those kingdoms are so weakened, that they cannot of themselves carry on the trade.

What would produce a great revolution among us, is, if America should throw off the Spanish yoke, and be governed by its own laws, very probably the rebels, to bribe the Europeans not to assist the Spaniards against them, would open all their ports, and pour forth their riches; but this would be a transient prosperity: the Americans would soon have our arts and manufactures; their lands would produce our fruits, and consequently having no occasion for our goods and merchandizes, Europe would sink again into the same state of indigence in which it was about four centuries ago.

Happily there is not the least appearance of such an event, the dominion of the Spaniards as mild now as it was formerly terrible, is established over the natives of the country. The spirit and manners of the Spaniards have passed into America, and the government of Madrid is settled in such a manner, that a viceroy of the Indies cannot think of making himself independent, though nature should have given him the ambition and talents of a Sylla, a Cæsar, or a Cromwell. America was ever attached to its duty during the war of one thousand seven hundred and one; if there were in those vast kingdoms any seeds of rebellion, they sprung up doubtless at the time when two princes were contending for the succession of Charles the second, and when neither of them had an absolute authority. The inquisition is likewise a strong fence against revolutions; it accustoms people to think always the same way, and unites them by the same faith; and in a monarchy like the Spanish, where the prince holds in his hands all the forces of the state, divisions and troubles can arise only from difference

ference of opinions in religion; and therefore, who can say, that if the doctrines of Luther or Calvin should creep into Spain, they would not have the same consequences as heretofore in Germany and France.

Spain seems, by the form of its government, to be secured from all revolution: but there sometimes arise in the body politic unforeseen maladies, the rapid progress whereof no remedy can stop. History affords a thousand events, perhaps more extraordinary than the revolution in question; we ourselves were very near being witnesses of a remarkable one, if it be true, that in the distresses of the war of one thousand seven hundred and one, Philip the first resolved to abandon Spain to his rival, and go with his court to the West Indies, and establish the seat of a new empire.

By this short sketch upon trade, it may be perceived that it forms a too considerable object not to be necessarily regulated by laws: this is a thing of immense extent. Conventions of little importance will not be mentioned, such as can only cause processes among private persons, and are cognizable only by the judges of the admiralty: but after a particular account of what concerns the common law of nations at sea, and the general terms which serve for a basis to all the treaties of trade and navigation, the mutual engagements shall be related, says my author, which the powers of Europe have entered into: to these conventions I must refer my readers, and shall now return from this digression.

The writ anciently sent to each city, as a summons to parliament, convened all the prelates, masters of the military orders of knighthood, earls, rich men, nobles, and procurators of the cities and towns throughout the realm. I find that Cadiz sent two to the cortes for Castile, in one thousand three hundred and ninety, and in the reign of don Henry the second of Castile.

Among the four suffragans to the archbishop of Seville, I find don Francisco Thomas del Valle, bishop of Cadiz, at two thousand pounds per annum.

In one thousand three hundred and sixty-one, in the month of January, the king of Castile ordered the grand master of Calatrava, accompanied by don Henry Henriquez, and some other old officers, with a thousand horse, and two thousand foot, to surprise Cadiz, which, though a place of so great importance to the king of Granada, was, according to his intelligence, but indifferently guarded. Artifices of this kind were familiar to the Moors; the army of Castile advanced near the place without discovering an enemy; a small party was detached to the very suburbs of the city, to gain intelligence, and a more considerable body followed to support them: the first saw no troops, the latter retired, from an apprehension of an ambuscade, without being pursued. This proceeding was too fine for the Christian generals, they concluded the city to be defenceless and secure; upon which, they sent off detachments to plunder the country on every side. As soon as those detachments were at a considerable distance, a small detachment of Moorish horse came out of the city, and skirmished with the like number of Christians, who passed the bridge for that purpose. By degrees the Moors grew stronger, the remains of the army under the command of the generals, were obliged to engage to bring off their friends. It was then that they saw their ruin plainly; a great body of Moors having passed the river, attacked them in the rear, and the Christians being surrounded, were very speedily defeated, the grand master, don Henry, and most of the chief commanders, being taken prisoners (3).

Vertot (4) tells us, that in one thousand six hundred and forty-one, there was a deep-laid plot, by the duke of Medina Sidonia, the king of Portugal, and the marquis Daiamonti, with others, to have wrested the province of Andalusia from the crown of Spain, and to have made it a separate kingdom, governed by the duke

(3) *Chronica del Rey don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala.* (4) *Vertot's Revol. Portugal*, p. 99.

of Medina Sidonia; but this plot was discovered by the folly of Nicholas de Valasco, of the order of St. Francis, who was sent to the king of Portugal: and confiding too much in one of these, by name Sancho, who, after obtaining his liberty, and instead of carrying those letters which he was intrusted with from the king of Portugal, &c. to the duke of Medina Sidonia, he went to Madrid, and delivered them to Olivarez, which put a stop to the grand design, and the province has remained to the crown of Spain to this day.

In one thousand five hundred and thirty, Barbarossa having at least sixty vessels of war, great and small, had resolved to surprise Cadiz, and to enrich himself with the booty, which he concluded would be great, as it was at the time the fair was kept there: whilst he was preparing for this sudden surprise, he commanded Alicotto to go, and conduct biscuit, artillery, and other necessities, to the army at Algiers: during the preparations in Africa, Andrew Doria went to sea with a strong force, to sweep off those pirates, and to take satisfaction for the great loss the emperor had sustained some small time before. Having therefore intelligence that Barbarossa's force was divided, he surprised those under Alicotto, took, burnt, and destroyed all the vessels, made himself master of the port and town of Cerelli, and redeemed one thousand slaves: and though Doria lost four hundred soldiers, killed, with George Palavicino, ensign, and sixty more taken by a sally from the castle, through their own rashness: yet the loss the pirate Alicotto sustained of galleys and galliots, was thought to be the security and safety of Cales (5).

The queen of England having intelligence of the vast preparations Spain was carrying on to invade her dominions, equipped a fleet of thirty sail, under Sir Francis Drake, who stood for Cadiz,

(5) I cannot recollect the Spanish author from whom I had this fragment; because this, among many other extracts, was burnt.

where were collected vast stores, to be forwarded for Lisbon, for the intended invasion: and as soon as he entered the bay, he was fired upon by some ships of war, which he obliged to shelter themselves under the fire of their fort, of Pontal and Matagorda, where in that road sixty ships were, with divers smaller vessels; and as many of them as could pass the flats, fled to Port Real.

More gallies came to attack Sir Francis, but they were forced to retire also: they burnt in the harbour a ship of Ragusa of one thousand tons, mounted with forty pieces of brass ordnance, and richly laden: then they burnt a ship of twelve hundred tons, and several others, heavy laden, to the amount of ten thousand tons: all performed under the fire of their ships of war and fortifications; and what ships of theirs, that were disabled by the fire from the English fleet, they converted them into fire ships, to destroy Sir Francis's vessels, but to no effect.

This resolute attempt was performed in one day, and two nights, to the great amazement of the king of Spain, and the marquis of Santa Cruz, his admiral, whose famous ship was also burnt.

After Sir Francis left the port of Cadiz, he was followed by ten gallies, but to no effect; for the English fleet, who visited the coasts, took at several times a hundred sail, with provision and stores for the intended invasion: they also destroyed all the fishing vessels and nets, particularly those for the catching the tunny fish; they also landed and took three forts: the fleet then anchored off Lisbon, and near the Cascais, where the marquis of Santa Cruz was with his gallies. Sir Francis sent to acquaint him, "That he was ready to exchange a few shot with him." The marquis returned answer: "That he was not ready for him, neither had he such commission from the king his master."

It was in the month of April, one thousand five hundred and eighty-five, when Sir Francis entered the port of Cadiz, who would have certainly taken the city, if the people from the country had not

not been assembled, who ran to the relief of that place: in short, it is allowed by all, that the knight performed in this expedition, rather more than could have been expected (6).

King Philip the second of Spain, says Mr. Anderson (7), again making great preparations against England, queen Elizabeth wisely determined by all means to prevent his attempts on her coasts; and as the best means for that purpose would be to attack and annoy him in his own ports, for that end she sent out one hundred and twenty-six ships of war, seventeen whereof were her own ships, the remainder were, as usual, hired ones; they carried seven thousand three hundred and sixty land forces, and were joined by a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships, all being under the command of the earl of Essex, and the lord admiral Howard. This was in one thousand five hundred and ninety-five.

Before this expedition was well determined, the Spaniards, says Molyneux (8), with four gallies, arrived in Mount's bay, and landing, burnt three places (9) in Cornwall; and therefore, to prevent any more visits of this sort, the queen undertook to invade the Spanish dominions, in order to which, a stout fleet and numerous army were provided, under the most experienced officers of those times. The design of this expedition was to destroy the Spanish fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themselves masters of that rich city: the force employed was in all not less than one hundred and fifty sail: on board this fleet, there were embarked upwards of seven thousand men (1); and there was besides a Dutch squadron of twenty-four ships.

In consequence of the affront which king Philip received by the depredations made by Sir Francis Drake, as well in Spain as in other parts of his dominions, he collected all his sea forces together, in the beginning of this year one thousand five hundred

(6) Conjunct. Exped. by Tho. More Molyneux, p. 36. (7) On Commerce, Vol. 1. p. 445. (8) Conjunct. Exped. p. 38. (9) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts. (1) Stowe's Annals, p. 771. Holingshed, Speed.

and ninety-six, appointing the rendezvous to be at Seville, but this sudden preparation was disturbed by divers accidents: the first was the strange swelling and overflowing of the river of Guadalquivir, to the great spoil of the neighbouring country, for passing over her banks, there were many persons drowned, with much cattle, and many buildings overthrown, but the greatest loss was at Seville, in which port there being many ships of the fleet, they were long detained from making their preparations: and in the mean time, whilst they proceeded slowly in this affair, (according to the custom of that nation, who persuaded themselves to do great matters with fame and repose only) the British fleet appeared unexpectedly on the coast.

They sailed in the beginning of June from Plymouth, and were divided into four squadrons: the lord high admiral Charles Howard commanded the first, the earl of Essex the second, the lord Thomas Howard the third, and Sir Walter Raleigh the fourth.

They sailed with a fair wind, and the good wishes of all their countrymen (9): in former expeditions, great inconveniences had happened by the enemy's having early intelligence; in this they were so happy as to arrive before Cales in the middle of the said month, before they were either looked for, or even so much as thought of. They found the town pretty well fortified, and defended by a strong castle.

In the port were fifty-nine Spanish ships, many laden with treasure, and nineteen or twenty gallies: all these rode under the town of Cales, except the gallies, which were in the mouth of the bay, to cover the ships, and to attend the English in their landing. It was resolved the same day, in a council of war, to have landed all the forces at St. Sebastian's; but when they came to attempt it, that was found impracticable: after this, it was determined to attack the ships in the haven, before any attempt

(9) Stowe, Holingshed, Speed, Hackluyt, Sir William Monson's Nav. Tracts.

was made upon the town (1): in the execution, some errors were committed by the English, through too great heat and emulation of their commanders, but others more gross and fatal by the Spaniards, who, when they found themselves compelled to fly, did it without precaution: for instead of running their ships on shore, under the town, where they might have been covered by their artillery; and after resistance, their men could have retreated into the city; they ran up the bay as far as possible, by which means part fell into the hands of the English, and the rest were burnt (2).

In the mean time, the earl of Essex landed his men quietly, the enemy deserting a strong fort, from which they might have done him much mischief; three regiments also were sent to make themselves masters of the bridge, which unites the island to the main. This they performed with very small loss, but afterwards quitted again, which gave the galleys an opportunity of escaping, another oversight, for which no account can, says my author, be given. The lord admiral hearing the earl was landed, landed also with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordship could have kept the place: whilst the two generals were employed in reducing the city, Sir Walter Raleigh was sent to seize the ships in the harbour of Port Real; to prevent which, the duke of Medina Sidonia caused them to be set on fire and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the sea (3). The city and its forts they possessed a fortnight; and then it was agreed to sail to Faro, in the kingdom of Algarva, &c.

But to be more particular in this glorious expedition: the fleet kept at a distance from the coasts of France and Spain, for fear of alarming the Spaniards, as the commanders intended to have surprised Cadiz. It was therefore with great joy that they learned

(1) Molyneux's Conjunct. Exped. (2) End of first Vol. of Hackluyt's Voyages. Stowe's Annals. p. 771. Sir William Monson's Tracts, p. 184. Sir Walter Raleigh, 1700. eighth Vol. Triumphs of Nassau. Purchas's Pilgrim. (3) Camden, Stowe, Speed, Holingshed, Hackluyt, Monson.

from the master of an Irish vessel returning from that port, that every thing there was in the greatest security: that the garrison was weak, and the port full of ships of war, galleons, gallies, and merchantmen freighted for the Indies (6). This news filling them with hopes, they arrived the twentieth of June on the west side of the isle of Cadiz; when the lord admiral came to an anchor, opposite St. Sebastian's, the earl of Essex observing the gallies to row towards the intended landing place, bore down, and obliged them to retire to the Pontals.

The earl, with the rest of the fleet, stood up, and anchored by the lord admiral, excepting the third division under lord Thomas Howard, who anchored between them and the shore.

The generals then called a council, when it was agreed to land and attack the town on the west side, next to the anchoring ground, where the fleet then rode: for which purpose the earl of Essex, Sir Francis Vere, and Sir Conyers Clifford, appointed as many as the boats could well carry, which attended round the admiral's ship, ready to land.

Sir Walter Raleigh (who was but then arrived in the *Due Repulse*) protested against their landing, as the wind blew, the sea ran high, and was growing to a storm; therefore he thought the attempt too dangerous, and the performance impossible: it was therefore resolved, that the soldiers should be returned to their ships; and that the Spanish ships should, agreeable to Sir Walter's advice, be first attacked.

It was past noon before this late resolution was taken, and between two and three hours after, before the troops could be rowed to their several ships; and indeed, the wind blowing, several boats past their vessels, which obliged lord Thomas to weigh, and with other ships to follow and pick them up; which circumstance divided the fleet greatly, and many were obliged to anchor a great

(6) Rapin's Hist. England, reign Eliz. Vol. vii. p. 544.

way to leeward: so that the first day there was nothing executed, by reason of these accidents; only in the evening from the bulwark Saint Philip, from the ships of war which were at anchor, and from the gallies which advanced a little towards them; these bestowed some shot upon the *Due Repulse*, who answered them in a manner to make them know, the English could entertain them, if they chose to advance.

That night, the gallies coasting by the shore, betwixt St. Mary's port and Rotta, approached, to observe what order was kept in the English fleet, but were soon obliged to retire.

On Monday early in the morning, there was a council held on board the lord admiral's ship, where it was resolved to attack the Spanish fleet; and accordingly performed after this manner.

Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh (for so the general had appointed it) sailed up the middle of the channel with the king of Spain's largest ships, that kept retiring; scorning to give one single shot away upon the gallies which cannonaded the English fleet, as they passed them.

The lord marshal, Sir Francis Vere, in the *Rainbow*, stood up to the gallies, that had their sterns close under the walls of Cadiz, and engaged them for a long while before any other ship went to her assistance, and was therefore roughly handled both from the gallies and the ramparts of the town.

The earl of Essex seeing her over-matched, covered her with his large ship, which drew off a vast many shot from the little *Rainbow*: this encounter with the gallies was advantageous to the enemy; as in effect these two ships (for there were some others, that fired at a vast distance) performed the whole service: besides, there were two bulwarks that played against them; and notwithstanding the gallies were at safe anchor, they were at length obliged to fly into the bay, except two, which, Sir John Wingfield coming up in the *Vanguard*, kept so close under their walls by his shot, that they durst not look out.

During

During the engagement with the gallies, town, and bulwarks, the wind ceased, and a calm ensued; the English fleet went therefore but slowly in the chase; the Spanish ships which had attained Port Real, moored with their broad-sides towards the approach of the English fleet, that they might fight to the greatest advantage: the two fleets being in this situation, the one moored, the other becalmed: the masters of the English ships gave their general opinion, that they could not carry the fleet near enough without danger of running them on ground; which also helped to retard lord Thomas and Sir Walter, whose warm, sanguine wishes were to anchor as near the enemy as they possibly could; but were at length obliged to anchor without reach of musketry, and there remain till flood made; and therefore continual engagement was carried on with cannon, from six in the evening till eleven. The ships that followed, and were nearest, were commanded by Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir George Cross, the earl of Essex being on board him, and by Sir George Gifford.

The earl of Essex and the lord admiral got up an hour before the flood, having been all that morning soundly battered by the forts of Cadiz: but as the Ark drew too much water for the channel where those ships rode, which took up the whole breadth of the river, the lord admiral therefore put himself into lord Thomas Howard's ship.

When the flood began to make, lord Thomas and Sir Walter determined to lay the armadoes on board with the queen's ships, (for the hulks filled with musketeers, which were promised, neglected going) but as soon as the Spanish admiral perceived the top-sails to hoist on board the English fleet, then they cut, and ran on shore, saving as many of themselves as they could.

The English attacked them, says Mr. Rapin, with great resolution, but met with so warm a reception, that the fight lasted from break of day till noon: at last the Spaniards, despairing to make

a longer defence, resolved to sink their ships, and escape to land; that is to say, the English were warmly received, because the fight was at a distance; but as soon as the flood gave our ships an opportunity to close, they then made a shameful and precipitate flight.

The St. Philip, which was the Spanish admiral's ship, very large, and of great force, took fire before she could be boarded, by an inch of match left for that purpose in the gun-room; but the St. Matthew and St. Andrew were taken, many of the others were ran on shore, and many burnt by negroes, who afterwards saved themselves by swimming.

The India fleet of merchantmen were forty-four, that had got up the river four English miles; for their redemption the king of Spain's officers in Cadiz offered six hundred thousand pounds sterling. The earl of Essex was often pressed to have them first taken, and then sold, but he believed that such as offered to pay the composition, had meant *bonâ fide* to pay the money, from which he could not be dissuaded, until he saw the ships in flames, which the duke of Medina Sidonia had commanded to be done.

The number of the Spanish fleet was fifty-seven ships, fourteen of the king's men of war, and three great fly-boats, which had brought the treasure from Porto Rico; the rest were merchants, all fine ships, fully mounted with cannon, and more richly laden than ever any fleet before bound to the West Indies.

During the engagement, the gallies and the fort of Pontal kept a continual cannonade upon the English ships; and in short it was a noble action, as great as perhaps was ever performed before by ships, or since; for the same spirit, for the glory of Old England, was then, as has been since, and perhaps ever may, till time shall be no more.

They burnt, says Mr. Anderson, and destroyed much shipping, and more riches, and demolished all the forts: all which together was estimated at twenty millions of ducats of real loss and da-

mage to Spain, much rich booty was brought home, together with two galleons and a hundred brass cannon, and two hundred other pieces of ordnance were either taken or sunk in the sea, and an immense quantity of naval stores, ammunition, provisions, &c. were destroyed; and for ransom of their lives, they agreed to give hostages for the payment of five hundred and twenty thousand ducats: this, in short, says my author (7), was a very glorious exploit, and did not a little raise the credit of the queen, and of her naval and land forces, as well as of her ministers and commanders: that in this attack the English employed ships of Lubeck and Dantzick: for, in order to board the Spanish galleons, the admiral (being unwilling to hazard the queen's own ships) sent six of Lubeck and Dantzick with English soldiers and mariners for that purpose.

The English having obtained this great victory by God's especial favour, and who has so remarkably presided over the British army in every expedition undertaken by them, in this last bloody war, as by examination into the situation of the enemy, and every attack which the Britons carried, as the main object for which they were sent, requires the attention of the soldiery, that they themselves were insufficient to the task unless protected and hovered over by the hand of Providence; and these successes must ever be the consequence, where true discipline, good order, true religion, and pure virtue, most prevails.

The earl of Essex resolved to follow the blow with all expedition, and ordered as many gentlemen and soldiers into the boat, as might well be landed at once, which being accomplished, his lordship and the lord marshal went to reconnoitre the landing place; and finding it good, he debarked between two and three thousand men on the shore; and the boats returned for my lord admiral and his seconds.

(7) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 445.

The earl drew out these troops in order of battle, and commanded the marshal with his regiment to march directly to the other side of the island, half a mile distance from the landing; his lordship following to the south side, when he divided his force; sending one half with Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Charles Blunt, and Sir Thomas Gerrard, to break down the bridge that led to the continent, marching himself with the other half towards the town. The like orders he gave to the seconds above-mentioned, to be equally divided, and to march there two ways.

When he had reached the town within about half a mile, a cornet and a detachment of horse attempted to skirmish, and fired some shot; but were soon obliged to retreat and put to flight.

When the English troops arrived within a few paces of the town, the Spaniards sallied, both horse and foot; Rapin says three or four hundred, with their colours displayed, but kept under the cover of the walls of the town. The earl of Essex ordered thirty pike men and thirty musketeers to advance, but to retire precipitately as soon as the enemy offered to charge; which was properly obeyed, and led the Spaniards into an ambuscade, from whence they received a severe check, which stopt them in their career, and obliged them to so precipitate a flight, that they had scarce time to recover the port and shut it, the English pressing close upon their heels.

The horse which sallied, were the knights of the shires; who could not get into Cadiz, being so closely followed, whereupon they forsook their horses, and leaped over the walls at the west corner, by which the English also entered. Mr. Rapin only says, that the English had almost entered with them, but that the consternation was so great in the town, that before any measures could be taken for its defence, the English had time to force the gate, which was done by Sir Thomas Vere (8), and threw themselves

(8) Camden, p. 593.

into the town: and that though they found some resistance in the streets, yet in half an hour they made themselves masters of the market place: then the garrison and the inhabitants retired into the castle and town house, but on the same, or the following day, were obliged to surrender: however, the English troops stopped not in the pursuit, till they came to the foot of the first rampart, where the earl divided his men equally, six hundred he kept on the south side, and sent the other six hundred with the marshal to the north side. The earl, with some others, after some difficulty got up, where he saw a parapet of stone, almost inaccessible; but the bulwark and curtain were not finished; the English therefore beat the enemy off the parapet, but were greatly exposed to the fire of another bulwark of stone, which flanked them, and within a pike's length. Nevertheless the Spaniards were so roughly handled from the English musketry, that they did the earl's party very little damage: the earl found at last an entrance, where he ordered his men to leap down, being a pike length in height, under one Evans, who stood nearest him, being lieutenant to the earl of Suffex; and as soon as that gentleman, with five other soldiers, had entered, he ordered captain Pooley to enter with his red ensign: whereupon Sir Arthur Savage, captain of the earl's company, with divers gentlemen, followers and servants to his lordship, (for in those days servants fought, and not skulked in holes and corners) took the same rout: in the mean time, whilst forty were entering the town this way, the lord marshal, Sir Francis Vere, who, besides his own soldiers, had the general's partisans, forced the port, which his lordship perceiving, at ten paces distance, returned from the leap, and entered that way, carrying with him all the chief adventurers of the army.

Sir John Wingfield, who had killed a commander with his pike, and was behind, received a shot in his thigh, but having seized one of the enemy's horses, advanced to second the attack, without waiting any dressing.

From

From the English first entering the town, the enemy fought until they were driven to the market place, where they kept up a fire for half an hour before the English could dislodge them: and then they kept a continual fire upon their flanks and from their strong stone-houses, which were like castles.

Many of the English fell with the valiant Sir John Wingfield, who, though unarmed, exposed himself continually to all dangers, and was at length shot through the head from the castle, which kept an incessant fire upon those who had gained the market place.

The English at length gained the houses, that had so much annoyed them, and slew all those they found in them: and as the lord general cleared before it was dark all those parts, but the castle: so the lord marshal cleared all the other side towards the water; and obliged those that were in the fort bulwark of St. Philip to sue for mercy: which done, the generals entered the town house, where the chief citizens went to kiss their feet.

The next morning both the castle and forts yielded to their mercy without any other condition: the poor and baser fort were dismissed, and all women of quality whatever. The corrigidore delivered his sword, and presented himself prisoner to the general, and to give for himself and some others of rank and fortune, twelve thousand ducats. No man was slain in cool blood, but the Spaniards had two thousand killed in the engagement.

Besides the chief commanders on this expedition, who had given many proofs of their valour and experience, there were many gallant gentlemen, who remarkably distinguished themselves by deeds of arms, and whom the general knighted for their military skill and achievements.

Sir Samuel Bagnol must be particularly mentioned, who had received eight wounds with the pike and sword, whom the lord general met in the market place all bloody; he therefore knighted him on the spot, to reward his just merits, and to encourage
others

others for the attainment of the same honour: this ceremony was performed before the castle was taken, or the town won.

Those gallant chiefs, already mentioned, were as follows:

The English fleet was divided into four squadrons (9), whereof the first was commanded by the lord admiral Howard, the second by the earl of Essex, the third by lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by Sir Walter Raleigh: the officers of the army (of which the lord admiral and the earl of Essex were joint generals) were Sir Francis Vere lord marshal, Sir John Wingfield camp-master general, Sir Conyers Clifford serjeant major, Sir George Carew master of the ordnance: the colonels were, Robert earl of Suffex, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Edward Wingfield captain of the volunteers, and Anthony Ashley who was secretary at war (1).

The army was enriched by the wealth of the town, but the worthiest men got least; for while they were fighting, the baser sort were employed in spoil and pillage: but that which recompensed those great minds, were a capture of powder, found in the market place, brought for the use of the Spanish musketry: the English having expended all theirs, were miserably galled from all quarters that commanded the market place; this happy supply enabled them to complete their conquest.

In Cadiz were four thousand foot and six hundred horse of the chief cavaliers of Andalusia. Notwithstanding the site, strength, &c. of Cadiz, and its forts, the loss which the English sustained was not great; for in the fleet, there was not any man killed of note, or at the storming of the town, except Sir John Wingfield. It is true that several private men were slain and wounded, and many gentlemen hurt, and some killed, but considering the nature of the attempt, it is surprisingly trifling.

(9) Rapin's Hist. England, transl. by Tindal, Vol. vii. p. 544, note (X).

(1) Stowe, p. 772. Camden, p. 591.

As soon as the English fleet had entered Cadiz road, and that the Spaniards had discovered a Dutch squadron, they immediately, at Seville, St. Lucar, and other places, arrested such ships as dealt with them in mercantile trade, and confiscated their goods, imprisoned the mariners and owners, and, as it was then reported and believed, used their unjust captives cruelly.

The English being masters of the town of Cadiz, the general took great care of the inhabitants; and particularly of all religious, both men and women, who were sent to Port St. Mary's, without any ransom, or other molestation; with free passage for the bishop of Cusco; and he was informed that the English did not land in an hostile manner against priests, nuns, unarmed men, men of peace, or children; neither was it an intended voyage for gold, silver, or any other riches: but their visit was to retaliate the affront intended to England, and to take satisfaction for their dishonourable practices and the many injuries received; and to cope with martial men of valour, to support the honour and dignity of England; and at the same time to let them understand, that whenever the Spaniards attempted any base and dishonourable practice against their sovereign queen and mistress, they were both ready and capable of revenging her affront.

The day before the English departed from Cadiz, which was on the fifth of July, the city was burnt, but the ladies, nuns, and other women and children, were safely conducted to St. Mary's, with all their apparel and jewels, every man being forbidden to search them upon pain of death.

By the capitulation, says Rapin, they were to have their lives on payment of seventy thousand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in hostage.

The Spaniards were to pay five hundred and twenty thousand ducats, (or, according to Stowe, six hundred and twenty thousand) though others say one hundred and twenty thousand, but the adjacent country could not raise the money, so they were obliged to
give

give forty hostages. The town being thus in the power of the English, the earl of Essex, after remaining in it fourteen days, turned out all the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board a great quantity of silver, ammunition, and other valuable things, besides what has been already mentioned of the one hundred brass guns taken: Stowe writes that twelve hundred pieces of ordnance were either taken or sunk in the sea (2). The Spanish authors are divided as to the plunder; some say it amounted to four, others to eight millions of ducats, and that six millions more at least perished on board the fleet (3).

The earl of Essex proposed in a council of war to keep Cadiz, and even offered to stay there, provided he might have four hundred men and three months provisions; but his advice was not followed: so the fleet sailed, after burning the town and some adjacent villages. While the fleet was sailing for England, a north wind arising, the earl of Essex proposed to steer for the Azores, and wait for the Indian carracks, but his proposal was not admitted.

As the English, like the old Romans, are fond of a posthumous remembrance, the following is a list of such great men, who, for their gallant behaviour, received the order of knighthood conferred upon them by their general, as a testimony of their prowess and magnanimity in this glorious affair:

Sir Samuel Bagnol.

Sir Arthur Savage.

The earl of Essex.

Lord Burke.

Count Lodowicke.

Sir William Howard.

Sir George Devereux.

Sir Henry Neville.

Sir Edwin Rich.

Sir Richard Leven.

Sir Peter Egmont.

Sir Anthony Ashley.

Sir Henry Leonard.

Sir Richard Levison.

(2) Stowe, p. 775.
Mayerne, Turquet.

(3) Herrera, Vander Hammen, Camden's Annals.

Sir Horatio Vere.	Sir James Wotton.
Sir Arthur Throgmorton.	Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Miles Corbet.	Sir Robert Mansel.
Sir Edward Conway.	Sir William Monson.
Sir Oliver Lambert.	Sir John Bowes.
Sir Anthony Cook.	Sir Humphry Druel.
Sir John Townshend.	Sir Amias Preston.
Sir Robert Remington.	Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir John Bucke.	Sir John Stafford.
Sir John Morgan.	Sir Robert Lovel.
Sir John Aldridge.	Sir John Gilbert.
Sir Christopher Heydon.	Sir John Asbindon.
Sir Francis Popham.	Sir Matthew Browne.
Sir Philip Woodhouse.	Sir John Acton.
Sir Alexander Clifford.	Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Maurice Berkeley.	Sir Gillie Merruke.
Sir Charles Blunt.	Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir George Gifford.	Sir William Hervey.
Sir Robert Crosse.	Sir John Gray.
Sir James Escudamore.	Don Christopher, prince of Por-
Sir Urias Leigh.	tugal.
Sir John Leigh, alias Lee.	Sir John Vanderfoord, admiral
Sir Richard Weston.	of the Hollanders.
Sir Richard Wainman.	Sir Robert Dudley.

Thus this triumphant English army left Cadiz, having received from the duke of Medina Sidonia nine and thirty prisoners, who had been slaves in the hands of the Spaniards: which done, they passed along the coast of Portugal, took, spoiled, and burnt Ferrol, and marched up the country; after which exploit, the fleet shaped their course for England.

The queen received these brave men with great marks of esteem, and expressed her acknowledgment of the service they had done her.

Such was the ever memorable expedition to Cadiz; and the glorious achievements of the English will apologize for the prolixity, as I imagine the curious mind of man is for knowing the most of past events as is possible. Perhaps this very success against the Spanish shipping, might have given the hint to lord Chatham, that the like might be achieved; particularly, as so many heroes happily flourished in the time of his administration, to execute those views which he had planned in his closet.

Philip, king of Spain, was in this same year so intent on making reprisals for so great an insult, disgrace, and loss, that he assembled his whole marine at Lisbon, and all the foreign ships in his ports; as also a body of land forces; and many Irish fugitives, intending an invasion either of England or Ireland: yet a violent tempest arising, destroyed the greatest part of those ships, whereby an end was put to that intended invasion for the present year (4).

It had sailed from Lisbon to take up the land forces at Fariola, and then steered for England, and was dispersed in the midst of the passage. Thus queen Elizabeth had the pleasure to hear it was unable to hurt her, before she knew of its sailing (5).

It was in one thousand five hundred and ninety-seven, that the Spaniards armed for retaliation, and therefore I shall be particular: these were the regiment of Alexander de Monti, consisting of fifteen companies, which embarked at Naples, and was near being lost in a storm, upon the coast of Romania: however they arrived at Genoa, and were reinforced with the troops of Gambaita; all which sailed to Cadiz, where part of the fleet was al-

(4) Anderson on Commerce, Vol. i. p. 445.
Tindal, Vol. vii. p. 547.

(5) Rapin, translated by

ready: from whence they sailed with the galleons and six thousand Italians on board to the Groyne, and there joined by the Adelanlaldo, and the rest of the fleet; but were overtaken on the eighth of September by a violent storm, that dispersed the whole fleet, and foundered several, the people on board perishing. A galleon having Alexander de Monti and some of his companies on board, after losing her main mast, was driven to the coast of Africa, and having lost their pilot, and most of the sailors, was run aground, but afterwards was got off, and put into Mazagon, where they furnished themselves with all they wanted; and as he passed the Straits of Gibraltar, he met an English ship, who fought her long, but was obliged to strike to superiour force, and numbers of soldiers. Alexander de Monti then joined don Pedro de Toledo, with some other vessels: they scoured the coast of Barbary, and also that of Spain, till winter came, which obliged them to put into port St. Mary's.

The rest of the Spanish fleet, after the storm abated, reached Ferrol: and so ended this fine Spanish expedition, to their grief, and the satisfaction of the minds of England.

Upon the demise of king James the first, on the twenty-seventh of March, one thousand six hundred and twenty-five, his only son Charles succeeded to the throne; who, upon a war breaking out with Spain, sent Sir Edward Cecil, the earls of Essex and Denbigh (6), with a fleet of eighty English and Dutch ships, and ten good regiments; the fleet did not sail till October, and then upon no settled scheme, but were left to the direction of men, who in reality were no fit judges of such matters; and besides, were divided in opinion among themselves (7).

Sir Edward sailed from Plymouth on the seventh of October, but when the fleet had sailed some leagues at sea, their ships were separated by a storm, so that they were many days before they

(6) Molyneux Conjunct. Exped.

(7) Sir William Monson's Naval Tracts.

arrived at their appointed rendezvous off cape St. Vincent. On the nineteenth of October, it was resolved in a council to attack Cadiz, which they accordingly did on the twenty-second of the same month. Lord Essex stood into the bay, where he found seventeen ships riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies, which were gallantly attacked, but for want of proper orders and due assistance, the Spanish ships were suffered to retire to Port Real, where the lord marshal Cecil did not think fit to follow them: then some thousand soldiers were landed, and the fort Pontal was taken: after which they proceeded to make some attempts upon the town: but the soldiers unfortunately becoming masters of too much wine, got excessively drunk, and became so careless, that if the enemy had known, or had been vigilant enough to have embraced the advantage, few of them had returned home.

The fright into which this had put the officers, engaged them to re-embark their forces; and then it was agreed to cruize off cape St. Vincent for the flota; there the men grew sickly, and by the strangest management that ever was heard of (that is, distributing the sick under the pretence of being taken better care of, two in each ship) the whole fleet was infected, and to such a degree, as scarce left them hands enough to bring it home: this, however, they performed in December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired less honour to themselves: all which was foreseen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England.

On their return, a charge was exhibited against the general, by the earl of Essex and nine other officers of distinction; Sir Edward Cecil, who was created lord Wimbleton for this great and heroic exploit, justified himself in a long answer to their charge: both pieces are yet remaining, and serve only to demonstrate, that want of experience and unanimity proved the ruin of this expedition. Both the officer's charge, and lord Wimbleton's answer, are printed in Lediard's Naval History. The reader, upon comparing these with Sir William Monson's reflections on this lord's conduct,

conduct, will discern, that he is hardly and unjustly treated: Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he should have been acting: the officers accuse him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth seems to be, he had no notion of a sea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him (8).

Mr. Rapin writes, that the fleet under Edward Cecil, third son of the earl of Exeter, failed in the beginning of October, with the earl of Essex as vice admiral, and consisted of eighty sail with ten regiments on board: that the intent of the expedition was to wait in some convenient place for the Spanish plate-fleet, which was expected from the Indies in November: that as the admiral had sufficient time, he might have attacked a great number of ships in the bay of Cadiz, but the difficulty of the enterprize, or some other reason caused him to neglect that advantage: he was contented with landing Sir John Burroughs with some troops, who meeting no opposition, only plundered some villages, and abused themselves with wine, to their own, more than to their enemies prejudice: whereupon they were forced to be re-embarked with all speed: after that, the contagion spreading among the troops, the fleet returned to England in November, without the king's reaping any benefit from this armament, which had been very chargeable to him. This ill success did great injury to the king as well as to Buckingham, who was looked upon as the director and contriver of the court projects (9).

Admiral Blake's fleet cruized about in the Mediterranean, and at length anchored in Cadiz bay, where he received the greatest civilities from the Spaniards, till the blow was struck at Jamaica. Oliver Cromwell, to the best of his power, carefully concealed his design to make war (1): but when this was known, the Spaniards

(8) Campbell's Naval History. 343, 344, from Rushworth, p. 196. Act. Pub. 18. p. 181, &c. Coke.

(9) Rapin, trans. Tindal, Vol. VIII. p. Annals, Howes, Coke, p. 207, 208.

(1) Molyneux's Conject. Exped.

declared.

declared immediately against him, and seized the effects of all the English merchants in their dominions to an immense value (2). The war now being broke out between Cromwell and the Spaniards, Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till April one thousand six hundred and fifty-seven; when having information of a plate-fleet, at Santa Cruz, in the island of Teneriffe, he immediately sailed there; where, without question, he performed the boldest undertaking of its kind that had ever been done.

In the month of June one thousand six hundred and eighty-six, a French fleet, consisting of twenty ships of war, entered the bay of Cadiz, to prevent all egress and regrefs of that harbour, because the Spaniards had seized five hundred thousand crowns of French effects at Mexico: but that difference being accommodated to the satisfaction of France, the fleet weighed and left Cadiz without committing any act of hostility.

An English fleet also appeared before Cadiz in one thousand six hundred and twenty-nine, and endeavoured to make a descent with some troops, but were repulsed with loss.

I come now to one thousand seven hundred and two, in the reign of queen Anne: Rapin says (3), that while things were transacting on the continent, the confederate fleet was not idle: that it consisted of fifty ships of the line, thirty English, and twenty Dutch; the English, commanded by Sir George Rooke, having under him vice admiral Hopson, and the rear admirals Fairborne and Graydon; the Dutch under the command of lieutenant admiral Allemond, admiral Callemburgh, the vice admirals Vandergoes and Pieterfon, and the rear admiral Waffanaer; with about fourteen thousand land forces, nine thousand six hundred and sixty-three English, three thousand nine hundred and twenty-

(2) Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's Chron. Kennet, Echard, Ludlow, Rapin.
(3) Vol. xv. Tindal's Transf. p. 420. Hist. of Europe, Vol. vii. Burnet.

four Dutch: the English commanded by Sir Henry Bellasis, lieutenant general, Sir Charles O'Hara and lord Portmore, majors general; and the colonels Seymour, Hamilton, and Matthews, brigadiers: and the Dutch, by major general Sparre and brigadier baron Palandt: the duke of Ormond had the command of the whole.

Queen Anne, says Molyneux, declared war on the fourth of May, one thousand seven hundred and two, against France and Spain (4): and the conjunct expedition to Cadiz was concerted by king William; but carried in execution by the queen, at her accession to the throne: and Sir George Rooke hoisted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the thirtieth of the said month.

Sir George Rooke, says Rapin from bishop Burnet, spoke so coldly of the design before he sailed, that those who conversed with him, were apt to infer, that he intended to do the enemy as little harm as possible. That this was a great force equipped, and that the public, says Molyneux, had reason to form great expectations to themselves, as to its success, all the world must allow: but on the other hand, our expectations ought never to prejudice us so far as not to be satisfied with a just account of their disappointment. Bishop Burnet, says this gentleman, writes as above, that Sir George Rooke spoke coldly of this expedition before he went out, and this he tells us, to prove that Sir George Rooke intended to do the enemy no hurt: but, says Molyneux, the mischief lies here, Sir George suspected they should do no great good, because this expedition was of a doubtful nature; for on the one hand, they were enjoined to speak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the same time were ordered to act against them as foes (5).

On the nineteenth of June, the fleet weighed from Spithead, and came to an anchor at St. Helen's, in order to sail with the

(4) Conjunct. Exped. p. 107.
327, in note.

(5) Campbell's Naval Hist. Vol. III. p.

next fair wind: three days after, the rear admirals Fairborne and Graydon were detached from thence with sixteen men of war and two fire ships, English, and a squadron of the Dutch, in all thirty sail, upon a secret expedition; and, on the twenty-third, the prince of Hesse d'Armstadt sailed in the Adventure frigate for Lisbon. Advice had been sent over from Holland of a fleet, that had sailed from France under monsieur de Caffé, and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. Sir John Munden was recommended by Sir George Rooke to be sent against this fleet; and though he came up with them with a superiour force, yet he did not hinder the French from getting into the Groyne, nor fight them there.

Upon his return therefore to St. Helen's, where he arrived on the twenty-fifth of June, a court martial, of which Sir Cloudesly Shovel was president, was appointed to try him: he was acquitted, some excusing themselves for their lenity to him, by alledging, that if they had condemned him, the punishment was death; whereas they thought his errors flowed from a want of sense, so that it would have been hard to condemn him for a defeat of that which nature had not given him: but this acquittal raised such a public clamour, that the queen ordered him to be broke.

Sir George Rooke, to divert the design (6), says my author, which he himself had undertaken, wrote from St. Helen's, that the Dutch fleet was victualled only to the middle of September; so that no great design could be executed, when so large a part of the fleet was so ill provided.

When the Dutch admiral heard of this, he sent to their ambassador to complain to the queen of this misinformation, for he was victualled to the middle of December: on the first of July, the confederate fleet set sail from St. Helen's, steering their course for Cadiz; but they were for some time stopped by contrary winds, accidents, and pretences, many of which were thought to be

(6) Rapin's Hist. transf. Tindal, Vol. xv. p. 421. Anne.

strained and invented: however, on the tenth of August the fleet reached the rock of Lisbon, when the next day they held a council of war (7); and on the twelfth of August, they anchored before the city of Cadiz, at two miles distance.

Sir Thomas Smith, quarter master general, having viewed and founded the shore on the back side of the isle of Leon, in which Cadiz stands, reported that there were very convenient bays to make a descent; the duke of Ormond vehemently insisted, in a council of war, upon landing in that isle, in order to make a sudden and vigorous attack upon the town, where the consternation was so great, that in all probability the enterprize would have succeeded; but several of the council, especially the sea officers, opposing the duke's motion, it was resolved, that the army should first take the fort of St. Catharine and port St. Mary, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to Cadiz.

Sir George Rooke is also charged with not having laid a disposition before he arrived in Cadiz bay, and therefore some days were lost on pretence of seeking for intelligence. It is certain, continues my author (8), that our court had false accounts of the state of the place, with regard both to the garrison and fortifications; the garrison being much stronger, and the fortifications in a much better condition, than had been represented. The French men of war, and the gallies, that were in the bay, retired within the Pontals: in the first surprise it had been easy to have followed them, and to have taken or burned them, which Sir Stafford Fairborne offered to execute, but Sir George Rooke, and the rest of his creatures, did not approve of it.

Fairborne proposed the ordering a squadron of ships, before the fleet came in sight of Cadiz (9), to push through the entrance of the harbour, without coming to an anchor at all, which he

(7) Molyneux's Conjunct. Expedition.
Idem, note (B).

(8) Rapin, idem, p. 422. (9)

offered to undertake: had this advice been followed, they might, in the first surprise of the Spaniards, have destroyed at least their shipping, if not taken the place; but it being not thought advisable to make such an attempt, the Spaniards had not only the leisure, while the fleet lay in view, of sinking vessels in the very entrance of the harbour, whereby the passage was rendered impracticable, but also to put themselves in a much better condition of defending the city itself, than they would otherwise have been (1).

On the thirteenth of August, the duke of Ormond sent a trumpet with a letter to the duke of Brancaccio, the governour, whom the duke had known in the Spanish service, in the last confederate war: but in answer to the letter, inviting him to submit to the house of Austria, Brancaccio declared, "He would acquit himself honourably of the trust reposed in him by the king;" as may be read at large in the collections of Lamberti (2).

Some days were lost before a council of war was called; in the mean time, the duke of Ormond sent some engineers and pilots to sound the south side of Cadiz, near the island of St. Pedro; but while this was doing, the officers, by taking of some boats, came to know, that the inhabitants of Cadiz had sent over the best of their goods and other effects to port St. Mary's; so that there was good plunder to be had easily; whereas the landing on the isle of Cadiz was like to prove dangerous, and, as some made them believe, impracticable. General O'Hara made a long speech against landing, shewing how desperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the state of the place from the representations made of it in England.

The greater number being with him, made all that the duke of Ormond could say to the contrary, to be of no effect: Sir George seemed to be of the same mind with the duke, but all his

(1) Burchet, p. 622.

(2) Tom. II. p. 251.

dependents were of another opinion; so that this was thought a piece of craft in him: in conclusion, the council of war came to a resolution not to make a descent on the island of Cadiz; but before they broke up, those whom the duke had sent to sound the landing-places on the south side, came and told him, that, as they might land safely, so the ships might ride securely on that side: yet they had no regard to this, but adhered to their resolution, nor were there any orders given for bombarding the town. The sea was for the most part very high, while they were there; but they had no orders for it; and indeed it appeared very plainly, that they intended to do nothing but plunder port St. Mary's; a design, which was directly contrary to the advice of Mr. Methuen, the English envoy in Portugal, who, in a letter to the duke of Ormond from Lisbon of the first of August, told him, "That
 "the point of the greatest importance was to insinuate to the Spa-
 "niards, and shew by his proceedings, that he came not as an
 "enemy to Spain, but only to free them from France, and give
 "them assistance to establish themselves under the government of
 "the house of Austria."

However, on the fifteenth of August, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the bay of Bulls, above a mile on the left of St. Catharine's fort; the cannon of which fixed on his men all the while, but with little execution: the first that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Pallandt and the earl of Donnegal; they were, says Molyneux, to wade to the shore, and were very wet when they reached it: in the mean time, captain Jumber in the *Lenox*, and some English and Dutch light frigates, kept up a fire upon the horse that appeared near the coast, who were soon after attacked and repulsed by the English foot. The duke of Ormond, as soon as his troops were landed, sent and summoned fort St. Catharine; but the governor replied, "He had cannon mounted, with powder and ball sufficient to receive him."

On the sixteenth, the army marched to a camp marked out for them near La Rotta, a town within a league of the place where they landed, from which most of the inhabitants were fled; but strict orders being given against plundering, many of them returned: the duke of Ormond having left a garrison of three hundred men at La Rotta, marched on the twentieth of August towards port St. Mary's. Some Spanish horse, about six hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant colonel Gore's horse amongst the dragoons, but retired upon the approach of the English grenadiers, of whom a detachment, under colonel Pierce of the guards, was sent to take fort St. Catharine, which they did, and made one hundred and twenty Spaniards prisoners of war.

The duke entered port St. Mary's, attended by most of the general officers; and notwithstanding the strict orders the duke gave against plundering, there was a very great failure in the execution of them: on this descent in the bay of Bulls, the English made themselves masters of Rotta, fort St. Catharine, and this of port St. Mary, which they found deserted, but full of riches, which were immediately plundered; some of the general officers setting a very ill example to all the rest, especially O'Hara and Bellasis. The duke of Ormond tried to hinder this, but did not exert his authority; for if he had made some examples at first, he might have prevented much mischief that was done: but the whole army running so violently on the spoil, he either was not able, or, through a gentleness of temper, not willing to proceed to extremities. He had published a manifesto, according to his instructions, by which the Spaniards were invited to submit to the emperor; and he offered his protection to all that came in to him: but the plundering of St. Mary's was thought an ill commentary on the text.

It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz while the Spaniards were in possession of Matagorda fort, over against the Pontal,

it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected against it, but upon the firing, the guns sunk into the sands, and, after a fruitless attempt, the design was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, as nothing more could be done; and provisions now growing scarce, and the sea officers represented the danger of staying any longer in those seas, the duke of Ormond, though not without great reluctance, consented to the re-embarking of the land forces. Some of the ships crews were so employed in bringing off and bestowing the plunder, that they took not the necessary care to furnish themselves with fresh water.

The Spaniards endeavoured to disturb the retreat of the English in their embarking, but with very little success; a detachment of English and Dutch troops having quickly repulsed them, with the loss of a few of their horse, who were the most forward in the attack, which discouraged the rest so, that few or none of our people were left in getting aboard their ships. Thus, says Molyneux, ended the attempt upon Cadiz, which seems by Mr. Methuen's letter, originally concerted on a supposition, that the Spaniards had a natural affection for the house of Austria, and would join with us in their favour against France.

Sir George Rooke, without prosecuting his other instructions, in case the design on Cadiz failed, gave orders only for a squadron to sail to the West Indies, with some land forces, and though he had a fleet of victuallers, that had provisions to the middle of December, he ordered them to sail home; by which means the men of war were so scantily furnished, that they were soon forced to be put on short allowance: nor did he send advice-boats, either to the ports of Algarve or Lisbon, to see what orders or advices might be lying there for him, but sailed in a direct course for England.

And

And so, says bishop Burnet (3), ended the expedition against Cadiz, which was ill projected, and worse executed. The duke of Ormond told him, he had not half the ammunition that was necessary for the taking Cadiz, if the Spaniards had defended themselves well: though he believed they would not have made any great resistance, if he had landed on his first arrival, and not given them time to recover from the disorder into which the first surprise had put them.

I shall conclude this chapter from the memoirs of the marquis de Langallerie. On the twenty-third of August, one thousand seven hundred and two, says this gentleman, the fleets of England and Holland arrived in sight of Cadiz (4). It was thought at first that they were come to invade the kingdom with an army of twenty thousand men, and that the arch-duke would be at their head to command them: the whole country was alarmed, the inhabitants of Seville, which is a place ten leagues from Cadiz, retired further into the country. The monks and priests received orders from cardinal Portocarrero to mount the pulpit, and tell the people in their sermons, " That an army of hereticks, worse
 " than the Moors, that had heretofore over-ran Spain, were ready
 " to enter into their country, and destroy all with fire and sword:
 " that if they did not immediately take up arms to oppose their
 " invasion, they would certainly effect their designs: their churches
 " would be profaned, their sacred vessels polluted, their altars
 " overturned, their convent destroyed, the Roman catholic reli-
 " gion for ever banished from monarchy, the nation enslaved,
 " and all the country exposed to misery and desolation: that the
 " Spaniards having always been the bulwark of the Roman catho-
 " lic religion, it was time for them to shew their wonted zeal, by
 " taking up arms, men, women, and children, from the least to

(3) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 333.

(4) P. 192.

“the greatest, against hereticks infinitely more to be feared than
“the Moors or Barbarians, from whom God in his goodness had
“formerly delivered them.” These and such like sentiments they
were ordered to inspire into the people; which was nothing but
an artifice used by the cardinal and the court of France, to ren-
der the English and Dutch odious to the Spanish nation. But
to come to the troops who were preparing to land: the coast was
immediately sounded, and the anchorage examined; in the mean
time an officer, who had set up a white flag in a shallop, advanced
therein towards the town, with a letter from the duke of Ormond
to the governour of the place, don Scipio Brancaccio, which con-
tained in substance, “That the governour having served in Flan-
“ders against the French, he hoped that by the assistance of the
“English and Dutch fleets, he would declare himself in favour of
“the house of Austria, which he had heretofore so well served.”
Don Brancaccio answered the duke of Ormond, with an haughti-
ness natural to Spaniards, “That if he had known him serve the
“deceased king with honour, he hoped to let the duke see the
“same courage and fidelity for Philip the fifth, whom he acknow-
“ledged as sole and lawful heir to the monarchy of Spain.” The
duke of Ormond, after this answer, which discovered the little
reason he had to hope to draw the governour over to his party,
who so closely adhered to the interest of the new king, resolved
to try what he could do by force of arms, which he began by send-
ing on shore a great number of printed manifestos, which in-
formed the Spaniards of the motives of his expedition, and were
to this effect:

“That her majesty, the queen of Great Britain, having been
“pleased to give him command of the forces which she had joined
“to those of the states general, to support the rights of the house
“of Austria, in pursuance of the treaties of alliance made with
“the emperour, he thought it necessary before his entering upon
“action with the said forces to declare, that he was not come
“there

“ there to possess himself of any place belonging to the monarchy
“ of Spain, in the name of her majesty or the states general of the
“ United Provinces, nor to bring upon them troubles and cala-
“ mities which are generally inseparable from war, by way of
“ conquest; but rather to defend the good and faithful subjects
“ of the said monarchy, and deliver them from the insupportable
“ yoke under which they had been oppressed, and sold to France
“ by ill designing persons: that her majesty and the states general
“ having no other design than that of maintaining and defending
“ the rights of the house of Austria, he declared, that all the good
“ Spaniards who did not oppose his troops, should be protected
“ in their persons, estates, privileges, religion, &c. but that if, on
“ the contrary, they do not concur with the good intentions of
“ her majesty and the states general, he calls God to witness, that
“ the hostilities committed in such case by the troops under his
“ command, ought to be imputed to the Spaniards themselves,
“ who having so fair an opportunity of shewing their fidelity,
“ and following the motives of their duty and their interest, re-
“ fuse to embrace it.”

On the twenty-sixth of August, one thousand seven hundred and two, the descent was made in the bay of Bulls, between Rotta and fort St. Catharine, near port St. Mary's; twelve hundred grenadiers, commanded by the baron Pallandt and lord Donnegal, landed first: a body of Spanish cavalry shewed themselves upon a rising ground, but durst not adventure to advance, because of the cannon of some light frigates, which would have incommoded them. An officer of distinction, willing to give some marks of his bravery, or rather temerity, being at the head of four Spanish squadrons, detached himself with thirty others, and came up to attack fifty English, who, making a discharge upon them, the brave Spanish officer that commanded them fell to the ground, which made the rest of his party retreat. Cadiz, which the duke of Ormond had some thoughts of besieging, had then a garrison
6 of

of two thousand three hundred men, amongst which were six hundred regular troops. The fortifications of the place consisted of a horn-work and a crown-work. The troops which were disembarked, began with the attack of the towns Rotta and St. Mary, which they became masters of with little trouble, as also the fort of St. Catharine; but they met with greater opposition at the fort of Matagorda, which is built upon one of the two Pontals on the side of St. Mary. The duke of Ormond commanded four thousand English and Dutch to attack that fort; they raised three batteries, but the ground being marshy, they were not able to place there more than two field pieces and two mortars: the Spaniards taking this advantage, made such a terrible fire from the cannon of the place, and the galleys which were in the port, as well as from their muskets, that the English and Dutch were obliged to retire with considerable loss. The generals seeing it impossible to carry on the siege of Cadiz, called a council of war, and resolved therein to re-embark their troops, although they had reason to fear, that the Spaniards, encouraged by their ill success in this enterprize, would fall upon them in their retreat. They re-embarked, however, on the twenty-sixth of September, without any opposition.

This famous expedition having miscarried, the court of France pleased themselves, saying, that the generals, who commanded troops in that descent, had been guilty of a crime, contrary to the rules of good policy, who should, in a country where they came as friends, and where the catholic religion was professed, have forbid the soldiers, upon pain of death, not only to pillage the inhabitants, but also the churches: that what passed at St. Mary's and other places where the English troops came, had soured the Spaniards, and induced them to make such a resistance, that neither the court of Madrid, nor the court of France did expect from them; but it appeared afterwards to be far from any fault of the generals, who did, on the contrary, endeavour all

they could to hinder these ravages, but it was very difficult to stop the licentiousness of the soldiers in a country where the hopes of booty had encouraged them, and where they expected to find all the riches of the Indies.

I shall finish this affair of Cadiz with two (5) letters upon this subject, which deserve reading; one from the duke of Ormond to the marquis de Villadarias, the other is the answer that was made to it.

C H A P. IV.

OF CADIZ.

IN the foregoing sheets, I have given a full, historical account of the famous expedition to Cadiz, extracted from those authors which I have quoted: but as I have found two original journals by Sir Richard Granville, I can do no less than relate them apart, so that the reader may be satisfied in every particular relative to that expedition in one thousand six hundred and twenty-five.

The authority, says this preface, with which these journals came recommended, will, it is presumed, be satisfactory to the public: and, to refresh the reader's memory in some measure with the true motives for undertaking these expeditions, it is thought proper to recite what is said concerning them by a late maritime historian, viz. The scandalous treatment which king James had received from the Spaniards, says he, relating to the match and the palatinate, had, notwithstanding all his inclinations to peace, forced him, a little before his death, to resolve on a war with Spain: in prosecution whereof, king Charles, upon his

(5) These two letters above-mentioned were, by the unlucky accident of the disturbances in America, on account of the stamp act, destroyed, with many other manuscripts of the author, in the devastation and ravages committed by the populace of New York on his house.

coming to the crown, fitted out a fleet for an expedition against that kingdom, the command thereof, instead of being bestowed on Sir Robert Mansel, an old, experienced seaman, and vice admiral of England, was given to Sir Edward Cecil, a soldier trained in the Low Countries' war, who, for the honour of the enterprize, was created viscount Wimbledon, and, agreeable to the choice of the general, was the success of the expedition: for in the month of December, one thousand six hundred and twenty-five, the fleet returned ingloriously to England (1).

March 1, 1719.

"I send you the two manuscripts I promised you, of my uncle
"Sir Richard Granville, which, if you find may be acceptable to
"Mr. Burchett, are at his service: I am sorry I did not know of
"the publication of his book, nor of his design, otherwise I should
"have presented them more seasonably: however, they may serve
"to satisfy his curiosity by comparing them with other accounts.
"He may depend upon their fidelity, being the journals of an
"officer of great distinction in those days, who was present in
"both these famous expeditions. I return you thanks for your
"book, and am ever,

"most affectionately, yours,

"Lansdowne."

Though these invaluable pieces came too late to be inserted in the place they were intended, yet it is not to be doubted that every true lover of his country will be glad to find them made use of in this manner for completing the life of general Monk, whose unparalleled services ought to be had in everlasting remembrance.

Both the writers of his grace's life (2) give us an account of his serving in these expeditions, and the former of them thus delivers

(1) See Burchett's Naval History, p. 370. (2) Dr. Gamble's life of general Monk, printed in 1661, p. 4—5. Also Dr. Skime's Life of general Monk, printed in the year 1723, published by Mr. Webster, M. A. p. 13.

himself: what was the issue of that voyage into Spain, we have neither reason nor satisfaction to relate: afterwards, adds he, upon the war with France, he was in those expeditions to the isle of Rhée and Rochelle, where he carried colours under that valiant and old commander Sir John Burroughs, who also, as young as he was, would often relate with grief the ill conduct of that affair, by which the English reaped nothing but reproach and dishonour, and yet wanted neither courage nor gallantry. This I hope is sufficient to shew how proper a supplement these journals are to the life of general Monk; besides, they supply a very large chasm in all our English historians during that period of time, not any of them having told us much more than that these expeditions were made, and that they miscarried. Before I conclude, I must beg leave to dissent from Mr. secretary Burchett in the severe character he has given of Sir Edward Cecil (where he says, "That agreeable to the choice of the general was the success of the "Cadiz expedition") because I make not the least question when that gentleman has carefully perused viscount Wimbledon's defence hereunto subjoined, he will find very good reason to alter his opinion.

The charge delivered by the earl of Essex and nine other colonels at the council table against viscount Wimbledon, general of the last Calles voyage, with his answer, containing a full relation of the defeat of that voyage, is as follows:

First, We humbly present to your lordship's consideration, that my lord marshal never acquainted the council of war with any part of those instructions which he shewed at the council table, though some of them were such as the meanest soldiers ought to have been acquainted with; nor did we understand, that we were such a council of war by which he should govern his actions, otherwise than to come when his lordship pleased to call for us, and then to give him our advice on such things as he would please to propose to us, and no more; and therefore we think ourselves no
further

further answerable in that kind, than for our advices upon his propositions: for only in that kind he made use of our counsels, though every one of us do protest, that, in duty to his majesty's services, we did to our abilities and knowledge give him the best counsels upon all occasions.

The third of October, one thousand six hundred and twenty-five, being Monday, my lord Essex, with part of the fleet, put forth from the Sound of Plymouth.

The fourth of October, being Tuesday, my lord marshal, with the rest of the fleet, put forth also.

The sixth, being Thursday, my lord marshal, with that part with him, by contrary winds, was put into the Sound again.

On Friday the seventh, colonels Burgh and Harwood having found, when they were out at sea, that the captains of their ships had no instructions for the government of the fleet, nor any orders for rendezvous if they should be separated, went to the lord marshal, and, by their speaking to him, obtained instructions bearing date the third of October, wherein was named the place of rendezvous. Lord Essex, being then at sea, received not his, until the ninth of October, then under sail in the fleet, when with them he received orders from my lord marshal to distribute them to all his squadron, which were twenty-nine ships: but my lord must first write out so many copies, which being four sheets of paper and more, would require some time: this his lordship's late distributing them, and but in single copies to the admirals of the squadrons (for the rear admiral received them but at the same time lord Essex did) was the cause that many neither had them, nor could have them, before we came to the south cape, and after the storm: so that in the storm many might have been severed from the fleet, and never came to them again for want of instructions, as had almost happened with captain Roskinner, of the Matthew of Ipswich, and one other with him, that, betwixt them, had three hundred landmen on board them; as also with
captain.

captain White, and another with him, who, betwixt them, had the like number of landmen: all which four ships came not into the bay of Cadiz till we were ready to come away. In the said articles there was no enemy named in particular, for default whereof, three of our fleet, namely, captain Osburn, captain Bainthon, and captain Squil, meeting with three Spanish ships not far from the Rock, and about the seventeenth day of October hailing each other, and calling amain for the king's ships, did not fight them, because they had no instructions that named their enemy.

On the eleventh of October, at a council, it was moved by Sir Michael Gore to have our enemy named; the lord marshal said it was the common enemy, and persisted that was sufficient: but pressed by Sir John Burgh and Mr. Glanville how necessary it was to name the king of Spain, he did then yield to it, and in the next instructions he named him, and these were as before but singly distributed to the admirals, and they to write them out as before, and to distribute them to their squadrons, by which means many ships knew not their enemies until they came to Cadiz.

On the nineteenth of October the fleet was off the southern cape, and on the twentieth there was a council called, where it did appear, that the lord marshal understood, that we were only to advise him in what he should please to propose, and not more; we were then in a proper situation to attempt something upon the coast of Spain, and hoped that the lord marshal resolved on some particular place; then his lordship named St. Lucar's: but answered himself, saying, it was a barren haven, and that no great ships could go in, condemning the seamen, but named them not; that at Plymouth we advised him strongly, for that place made no difficulty of the entrance, but being now come hither, we found the entrance barren: it was then proposed to go into the bay of Cadiz, and there to attempt St. Mary's port, and divers were of that opinion; there also Sir Henry Bruce proposed, and urged to
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go for Gibraltar, but his lordship would not give him so much credit as to allow his proposition a full debate, but slighted it, as appears by his manner of putting the question, Whether to Cadiz bay, or Gibraltar? adding, that this last place was Sir Henry Bruce's proposition, wherein he thought Sir Henry would stand alone. This his slighting colonel Bruce, a gentleman of great experience and good reputation, did not only discourage him, who, besides this, advised to have gone into the Straits, there to make further attempts, but also hindered divers propositions of others, and especially of one of the council, who had the plot of a place in Spain, which else had been proposed: then it was concluded to go to the bay of Cadiz, for lord Essex's squadron to go in first, and to anchor as near St. Mary's port as he could: on which his lordship then moved, and so did lord Cromwell, that if they found any shipping of the king of Spain's in the bay, which is seldom without, to know if they should attempt them, and desired a full and clear distinction in that point. The lord marshal, without referring it to the council, of himself answered, that when we should be upon the place, then he would advise thereon, and resolve when our eyes might be our directors, and so gave lord Essex plain orders to anchor, and to leave breadth betwixt St. Mary's port and him, for the rest of the fleet; this resolution was now seconded by an express letter from the lord marshal to lord Essex when he was entering the mouth of the bay, and had the ships in sight.

The twenty-second of October, being Saturday, in the afternoon, lord Essex sailed into the bay, where he found seventeen good ships riding under the town, and ten or twelve gallies, which came from St. Mary's port; when they discovered us to be English, they made what haste they could to get under the port Pontal, and so up the creek to port Royal. Lord Essex went something beyond St. Mary's port, and exchanged some shot both with the gallies and galleons, and brailed his fore sail, and hovered
some

some time to see if the lord marshal would send him any order, but receiving none, fell down near the place assigned him, and came to anchor. If the lord marshal had, upon lord Essex and lord Cromwell's motion, given orders for attempting the shipping before they came in, if they found any, or if at his own coming into the road, which was within a quarter of an hour after lord Essex, when he first discovered the shipping there, and when his eyes might have been his directors, for he was so near as he could see them cut their cables, had then put himself into his barge or long-boat, and given orders to have attacked them, or but sent a ketch, whereof he had ever some attending him, with orders to lord Essex to attempt them, those seventeen ships had been the king's; but his lordship came presently to anchor, and so did the rest of the fleet. Soon after came of themselves, lord Essex, the admiral of Holland, and some other chiefs, on board the admiral, to present their services, and receive orders; after whose coming, and being some time on board him, the flag of council was hung out, but it was so late as the flag could not be far discerned: then he was pressed by lord Essex, colonel Burgh, and Sir John Proud, presently to attack the shipping, giving him some reasons if he did not, he might endanger losing them; as also if he intended any thing against Cadiz, he should do well to give them no time, but presently to land his army, which he might have done betwixt the town and the fort: his lordship, whether of his own judgment, or swayed by some particular man, ordered only that twenty colliers, with five of the Dutch squadron, should that night batter the fort; for this he sent Sir Thomas Love and Sir Michael Gore to give orders, which how they executed we leave them to answer, only saying, that Sir Michael Gore was but the second in that commission, and Sir Thomas Love, being captain of his own ship, did, or might, at his coming on board, have given his lordship an account; how it happened, we know not, that only five of the Dutch squadron battered the

the fort that night: yet this evening lord Effex had twice orders to batter the fort with his squadron, which were twice countermanded. The next morning, Sunday the twenty-third of October, lord Effex, early in the morning, had orders to go up with his squadron, and shoot upon the fort, which was likewise done by many of the other squadrons, though they effected little. The morning the lord marshal came on board lord Effex, where, amongst others that came of themselves, (for there was no council called) came Sir John Burgh, to whom the lord marshal said he had a resolution to land some men, and that he should have the command of eight hundred or a thousand that should land first, and desired him to prepare, that his ship should be as near lord Effex as he could.

When colonel Burgh came on board him again, the lord marshal told him, he was to command those men that should land, and try if they could take the fort by scalado, because we had already fired many shot upon it to no purpose; colonel Burgh went to land with those men which his lordship sent him, but before he went to land, required of his lordship particular direction both for disposing his men in landing, and for governing himself after he was landed, but could draw little from him, and so referred all to his directions.

Colonel Burgh required to have with him such things as were fit for such an enterprize, as ladders and granadoes, which his lordship promised presently to send him: the ladders came to him, but so late and unseasonably, as they could not conveniently be distributed; but the granadoes came not at all, though there was a great quantity provided in the Low Countries, and conductors with them, which put the king to great charge, and were in the fleet, but not then to be found. Our men were landed near the fort without impeachment from the place where they landed, though from the fort we received some small hurt: and as we still advanced into the Downs from some scattered shot that

covered themselves in the sand hills. When our men were put in order, colonel Burgh going to view the fort, found it of that strength, that it was not likely to be easily gained by force, yet conceived by the countenance of those in it, that if they were summoned, they would haply hearken to it: accordingly he sent a drum to tell them, if they would give it up, the soldiers should have safe and honourable conditions, which they hearkened to, and, after an interchange of hostages, Sir William St. Leger came on land, and with him the governour agreed so as that evening the fort was delivered up. This day the lord marshal coming on board lord Essex, he was pressed by the said earl, colonel Harwood, Sir John Prowd, and others that came uncalled on board him, to attack the shipping, his general answer was, "He would not hunt two hares at once:" meaning the fort and the shipping. To which it was replied, "He had shipping enough to attack them, and batter the fort too:" and though his lordship conceived and said he had the shipping sure, yet the longer he deferred it, they would be so much the less worth the having; but all prevailed not. This day, some time after Sir John Burgh was landed, his lordship gave leave to all that desired it, to land without naming the colonels or chief officers to go with them, and then two or three thousand more landed.

Monday the twenty-fourth, the lord marshal gave orders for landing the rest of the army, which was effected, except ten or eleven companies of the rear admiral's squadron, which could not conveniently land, they being so far off. This order was given without calling a council in general, or advice of any of us in particular: neither those that were landed this day, nor the night before, had any orders to take victuals with them which was necessary, the victuals being in the power of purfers of ships, over whom the land officers had no command.

The army being landed, and the regiments drawn together, the lord marshal called a council of war within the fort of Pontal,

at which time, before any thing was proposed, one of the seamen of the council came and said the enemy was drawn down, and was in skirmish with colonel Burgh, who had drawn some troops nearer the town to view the gardens where he thought some of the enemy were, and to place a guard upon the sea side towards Gibraltar, in which places some scattered men of the enemy were, who gave the occasion of that alarm; the lord marshal and the rest of the officers suspecting the worst, went forth every one to his charge, his lordship having his horses ready, rode up into the Downs to see what the alarm was, and soon after, by whose advice we know not, but we protest by none of ours, he gave orders by the serjeant majors general, that the whole army should march, and so marched to the neck of the land, which is in the way towards the bridge: at this time, victuals for the army were some in landing, and some landed at the fort, but by reason of the lord marshal's express commands to march away, the men had not time to take them, nor did his lordship take care thereof when he was told of it: for there Sir Charles Rich acquainted him, that divers captains of his had no victuals come to Pontal, and others that their boats were gone for them to their ships.

To which his lordship answered, "That, however, he must march, and that victuals should follow him:" also the serjeant major of colonel Harwood's upon the first order, went unto the lord marshal and told him, that three or four of the companies of his colonel's regiment had no victuals, nor had any from the time they came from on shipboard; to whom his lordship sharply answered, "That now was not the time to speak of victuals, when we were to march towards the enemy, and that want of victuals must not make men cowards:" with this answer the serjeant major was much offended, but replied not, and came back and acquainted his colonel and lieutenant colonel therewith. The army marched on, and being come to the neck of land there, lord Essex and Sir John Prowd came to the lord marshal and ac-

quainted him with the want of victuals in the army, and pressed him to take orders for it ere he went any further: lord Essex declaring also, that he approved not his going to break the bridge; whereupon he said he would call a council, and so made a halt near Hercules's pillars, and sent to the colonels to come to the vanguard of the troops: then also he was put in mind by lord Delawarre, that he had left no troops as a guard upon the town to secure our return on our men's coming on land, or following the troops upon any occasion: upon which consideration, before all the colonels were come together, he sent back colonel Burgh and colonel Bruce with their regiments, and then marched forwards with the rest of the troops, without staying till the council were assembled, and against the advice of lord Essex or any of us that made this relation; nor did we conceive what reason his lordship had for it; sure we are, that he marched the army much without victuals, and lost time in preparing for us in all places thereabouts, which chiefly made our designs so fruitless; whereas the lord marshal excused his not staying for the advice of the council of war for his going towards the bridge, upon some words which my lord of Valentia used to him there, which were, that seeing many of the enemy standing on a hill not far from him, that his lordship would not do well when he came near the enemy to stand still, for it would both encourage the enemy, and dishearten his own men: at which time my lord of Valentia did not know he had called a council that was the cause of his stay; besides, he might in effect have done both, for he might have sent the forlorn hope or more small troops to put the enemy further off, which would easily have been done, and have staid with the body of the army until the council had been assembled, and debated the business and given their opinions. This night the army quartered in the fields some leagues short of the bridge, and near some straggling houses, in many of which there was wine, but principally there was great store in the house of don Lewis

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de Soto, where the lord marshal quartered himself, though at the same time the soldiers complained for want of victuals. Those who were landed with colonel Burgh chiefly, had not had any since Monday morning. The lord marshal, as the army passed by, told the soldiers they should have to every regiment one butt of wine, which was given, and which the colonels and chief officers sparingly gave to their soldiers; yet how it came particularly so, we know not, whether in the lord marshal's house, or in other straggling houses near that quarter: certain it is, the soldiers got more wine than was delivered them from their officers, and so much, as in a few hours most of the whole army (except the officers) were drunk, some of them more, some less, yet all disorderly, insomuch as we verily believe if the enemy had that night attacked us with only about four or five hundred men, they might have easily defeated the whole army: that this drunkenness and disorder was not occasioned by the wine which the soldiers had delivered them by their officers, appears, for that some regiments (namely, Sir Charles Rich's and Sir Edward Conway's) had none: their butts, by rolling to the quarter, being staved by the way, yet were their men also as the rest. We think the lord marshal, who rid before with the foremost troops, and came first into the quarter, and found so much wine in his own house, and store of vineyards thereabouts, might imagine there was wine in the other houses also; and if he had sent some of his general officers to have searched the houses in that quarter, and then either to have staved all the wine he found, or else set such guards upon it as the soldiers might not have come at it, as also to have set such guards about his own house, and taken such order, and so have taken away all means from the soldiers to be drunk, he had done much better than neglecting it; and then after to cast a blemish upon the colonels and chief officers, as if they had not done their duties in keeping their men from drunkenness. At this quarter, and at night, lord Essex finding no guards placed at the
avenues,

avenues, nor any order for it, (though it did not properly concern him, but should have been the lord marshal's care, or the serjeant major general) came and acquainted his lordship therewith, who, without ever visiting the avenues in person, gave his lordship orders in general to advance some small guards before the troops, but left the particulars to his discretion. This night also we had no word given out till one or two o'clock in the morning: whose fault it was, we know not, but we wondered that we should have one at Plymouth, and in our own country, and where we had no enemy nor army, but in the land dispersed in villages, and none in an army in Spain: at last we had one in three words, which was (heaven bless us!) this night; the soldiers being chiefly disordered by wine, and in want of victuals, came in troops to the lord marshal's house, and pressed to come in on all sides, and those small guards he had there were not sufficient to keep them out, nor remained there any respect to the chief officers. The extremity of this was about one o'clock in the morning, where there were most of the lords and colonels with his lordship, who all assisted him in restraining those insolences, and were contented to endure insolent contemptuous language from the soldiers, who said, God save king Charles! and more to this effect: he allowed us victuals, but as for the lord marshal and the rest, they cared not, for victuals they would have, or they would pull them out of the house. The whole army was in disorder, which troubled the lord marshal and the rest of us, and for the present we knew not how to help it: the soldiers were enraged like so many beasts, but we had patience, and kept them out of the house as well as we could; the rest of the night neither the lord marshal nor any of us took much rest, we being all much cast down, and the more so, because we knew our soldiers had reason to complain of want of victuals. The lord marshal having brought the army to this extremity, then demanded advice what to do with us about them; we advised him to call a council, and because some of the council
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were gone back, and that there were (besides general officers) but three colonels there to call the lieutenant colonels to council, but not until the morning, because it was not well in the night to call both the first and second chief officers so far off from the troops as his house was.

So, early in the morning, Tuesday the twenty-fifth of October, the colonels assembled, when it was by the lord marshal represented the great disorder of the army, and advice demanded what to do: it was largely debated whether to go forward or return, and generally that whether the lord marshal intended to besiege the town or no; yet it was not material to go to the bridge, as we had not materials sufficient to break it down; and if we had, and could break it, yet that would be no advantage to us for the besieging of Cadiz; for that we might, by possessing the strait of land, be more secured from any danger from Terra Firma than by breaking the bridge. More reasons were declared against going to the bridge, as that five could break it, which was not probable, yet was to small purpose, unless we left two or three thousand men to guard it after it was broken; which, if we should, we knew not how to victual them there, neither were they secure, it being possible that the enemy might with gallies land greater troops than they betwixt them and us, and come on the back of them and defeat them, and we being far off, could not know it, or assist them; besides, thereby we should much lessen our army: but supposing it had been for the advantage of the service to have gone to the bridge, yet our army being then in such disorder for want of victuals, and not any to be had but from the ships, nor any from thence but by going back, it was generally agreed by all to return; yet Sir William St. Leger would not give his voice pro or con. and so we did return with loss, as we think, of about sixty men, or thereabouts, that were strayed out of the quarter, and drunk, we know not where: this day we came back, and were quartered by the two regiments of colonels Burgh and Bruce, which

which were a guard upon the town of Cadiz. This evening, when the troops were quartered in the field and on horseback, the council was assembled, where what has been said of the last night's disorder was mentioned, and that the enemy drew together and followed us in great troops both horse and foot: and some affirmed those they saw could be no less than two or three thousand; and it was affirmed that those that had the guard towards the town had seen near about a thousand men at one time without the town, and that the gallies came continually to the town without impeachment: so it was then debated, and most men inclined to ship next morning, and afterwards to think what to attempt in some other place, because Cadiz was then thought by us all to be too strong for us to attack, and so that council broke up, deferring a resolution till next morning.

On Wednesday the twenty-sixth of October, the lord marshal leaving colonel Harwood with his regiment to stay with the other two of colonel Burgh and colonel Bruce, marched with the rest of the army back to the Strait of land thereabouts to recover certain longboats which we had seen before when we passed that way, and returned that night to our former quarter.

On Thursday the twenty-seventh of October, early in the morning, a council was called, and we all met at the fort Pontal, where the lord marshal demanded our opinions whether we thought this army sufficient to besiege the town of Cadiz, and whether we would advise him to it or not; it was considered, that our army consisted of new men little exercised, that many things necessary for a siege we had not, and that the town was supplied with both men and other necessaries since we came into the bay, having had Saturday night, Sunday, Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday, to provide themselves, and to prepare against us: so it was generally agreed not to besiege the town, but to ship our army; and it was ordered by the lord marshal for the oldest regiment to ship first.

Now

Now in these three days that we were on land, the lord marshal having left orders for it with lord Denbigh before his marching to the fort, there was a council called of the seamen to advise how to set upon the enemy's shipping at port Real, to which service Sir Samuel Argol was designed, with the vice admiral's squadron, but it succeeded not, by reason of the enemy having so much time given them, had sunk ships in the channel that ours could not pass up to them: for as yet Sir Samuel Argol with that squadron was not returned to the rest of the fleet, of which squadron were the ships that received lord Essex's regiment with the lord of Valentia and colonel Harwood's: these three regiments, because their shipping had orders to ship last, and of them according to the order of the rest of the army to be last, presently lord Essex, Sir William St. Leger, and colonel Harwood, went and considered of the fittest ground for them to stand in, whilst the other were in shipping: there colonel Harwood, the rest approving of it, chose out some hills to place musketeers on, and behind them towards the fort the rest of the regiments in order; lord Essex's regiment, that was first to be shipped, next the fort; and colonel Harwood's, that was to make the retreat, next the enemy; the other regiments to be shipped in order one after another. When lord Essex was to draw away, the enemy that before had not shewn themselves near to us, but scattered only to look upon us, began to come down in troops; lord Essex sent to colonel Harwood (who was with the musketeers next the enemy, from whence he could discern more of the enemy's actions than where his lordship was) to know whether it was necessary he should stay with his regiment, as the enemy began to come down; colonel Harwood advised his lordship to draw away with his pikes, but to send him some of his musketeers, which his lordship did, and so did my lord of Valentia. The enemy came close up within two or three hundred shot to the hills, where he had placed his musketeers too; they had also a body of pikes, but they came not

up. Colonel Harwood put all his musketeers to work, sent to lord Essex for more, and so received and amused the enemy as well as he could with such kind of men, who being new men, unacquainted with danger and the use of their arms, met one another, and coming to fill their bandeliers, blew up the powder twice or thrice; yet he made shift to maintain the ground he made choice of for an hour or more, that the other regiments might have time to ship. In this time he had two or three messengers from the lord marshal to come off, which, if he had done at first, before he had emboldened his men, and put some assurance into them, and given testimony that he went not in fear of them, but because he was to go on shipboard, he had been sure to be beaten: having now stayed a sufficient time for those ends, he began to make his retreat, and then missed one division of the pikes of his regiment, which the lord marshal had sent for away without his knowledge, which troubled him: first he commanded his lieutenant colonel to advance his colours and pikes ten paces towards the enemy, to countenance his musketeers in coming off, which put the enemy to a stand, and which time he took to begin to retire; but when he commanded his men to turn their faces and march off, they began to break and run away, and much ado he had to keep them together; but by the help of his lieutenant colonel and other officers who all stood firm, with much difficulty, by degrees he came off in reasonable order, and with little loss. The enemy followed him close to the fort, where he having the advantage of an old house, and placing musketeers safely in it and about it, and at either end a drain, which, after he was come under the fort with his pikes, the lord marshal sent him, and charging them four or five times with musket bullets, the enemy, by little and little, went clear away, and he shipped his men without any trouble: in all this time, neither the lord marshal nor Sir William St. Leger ever came at colonel Harwood, till he was with his pikes come close under the fort. Lord Essex and the lord of Valentia
and

and colonel Bruce at several times came to him to see him, yet none of them do assume the making of the retreat to themselves, as the lord marshal and Sir William St. Leger did. The lord marshal proposed this day to keep the fort with one hundred and twenty men, in which he was opposed by them, who said, if he left these men in the fort, it was needful to leave a third part of the shipping there to keep the harbour, which the fort could not do alone: for as soon as we were gone with our shipping, they would have the fort back again, and it were so many men certainly lost, which every one opposed, yet the lord marshal was unwilling to leave any shipping for keeping the harbour.

On Friday morning, the twenty-eighth of October, our men that were in the fort were drawn on shipboard, and the whole fleet fell down that night towards the entrance of the sea.

On the twenty-ninth was called a council of war to consult what was most proper to be done; divers were the opinions, some, that we should go into the Straits, and see if we could do any damage upon some towns or harbours there; others, that we might go to the southern islands and try our fortunes there: St. Mary's fort was not thought a feasible thing, because we had been long in the bay, and it was likely they were too well provided for us; others, that we were to look to what the lord marshal had expressly said in his instructions, which as he had declared unto us was chiefly to interrupt the West India fleet, and these two places were both out of the way for that design: in consideration therefore of this design of his majesty's for the fleet, it was proposed by the council of war, and concluded to set sail, and ply to the southward cape, and stand our course westward sixty leagues from the land in the latitude of thirty-seven and thirty-seven and a half, and 36° and $36^{\circ} 30'$ to look for the West India fleet, with instructions, if forced by westerly winds, that our rendezvous should be at Buggerow, and if by southerly winds, at the isle of Bayonne and Galveca, where it was intended to water. At a council of war

held the first of November, it was concluded, that we should lie yet twenty days at the aforesaid Straits to attend the fleet, in which time there came many complaints of the defect of our fleet, as want of drink, a general want of water, great sicknesses and infections amongst the men: when seventeen days of the twenty were past, the complaints were renewed so, as by a council of war it was generally thought best to bear for England, which we did: in our coming home, the Mary Constance perished, with two land companies in her; the captains and some others were saved by a ship that was near them.

Our greatest wants being drink and water, we happily took a ship laden with wines: accordingly it was moved to the lord marshal, by Sir Michael Gore and others, to distribute the wine amongst the fleet, as it would much ease our wants in that kind, and give much comfort to weak and feeble men, and the worst had been but his majesty's paying for it if the ship had not been proved a good prize: but his lordship would give no ear to it, by reason on board the Anne Royal, Sir William St. Leger told him, that if he broke bulk and gave any thing out, he could not answer it, and should pay for it out of his own purse at his return.

We the under written, amongst us, some one part, some another, are ready to verify this relation:

Robert Essex.
Charles Rich.
Edward Harwood.
Henry Valentia.
Edward Conway.

Joseph Burgh.
Thomas Cromwell.
Michael Gore.
Joseph Watts.
Joseph Chudleigh.

Viscount Wimbleton's answer to the aforesaid charge.

" May it please your honours,

" For the communicating my instructions to the council of war, I had no orders for it, for that they were given me rather to order

der myself, and the expedition intended; but if any one can tell wherein I have transgressed in any of them, I find enough ready to take the advantage of them; where it is alledged, that I gave the orders somewhat late, it seemeth, that those, who would take that advantage, do not know, or else have forgotten: for lord Essex coming to my lodging at Plymouth, I shewed him the instructions lying upon my table; but when he was commanded to depart to Falmouth, he forgot to call for them, yet I did not forget to send them after him (before I set sail) by land; and when I first met his lordship by sea, I asked him if he had received my letters and instructions, and he told me no; then I gave him new ones: and whereas they speak of ships, as the Matthew that Roskinner commanded, and captain White's ship, it must be through their own neglect that they came not for instructions; and that they were not ready to hoist sail when the admiral did, and the whole fleet: and whereas it is called an error that there was no enemy declared, the instructions shew where the rendezvous should be, and no man was so weak as to think that we went to traffick upon the coast of Spain, having no other merchandize than powder; and herein they declared their malice, and not my error, in cavilling at a point so void of all dispute: for the excuse in not writing the instructions, nor the delivering them as soon as was convenient, I must think that the vice admiral (3) and the rear admiral (4) might do it as well as I could; for I caused theirs to be written, and some for their squadrons, and for all my own, for I had them chiefly written all at sea, by reason our haste was such, and being commanded by my lord duke not to let the opportunity of a good wind escape us; and besides, I gave Sir Francis Steward one, who was then appointed rear admiral, as well as to lord Denbigh that succeeded him, so that I had more writing than others: I had mine delivered sooner than any,

(3) Earl of Essex.

(4) Earl of Denbigh.

and

and had no more allowance for secretaries than others had. Again, it was expected that I came not from Plymouth without some design; can any of the council of war ask such a question, that had the honour to hear his majesty, after a long debate, condescending that we should go directly to St. Lucar's? and for naming the haven of St. Lucar's to be a barred haven, all the world knew that, before we came from Plymouth: but the difficulty was, that it was a dangerous haven, and more dangerous in the winter, as the act of council doth plainly declare; therefore I wonder that so many sufficient counsellors as ten, should lengthen their journal with that doubt; and I am sure that no seaman made that difficulty at Plymouth, neither did any refuse Sir Samuel Argol's proposal for St. Mary's port: for the proposal that Sir Henry Bruce made, that I should slight, I must put it with other slanders that cannot be proved, for he is a worthy gentleman, and one I have longer known in the wars than any of the colonels that were in the troops, and a gentleman I most particularly honour; and had the knowledge come from himself I should have embraced it with all my heart, yet I could not have done it without the rest of the colonels, neither could I change the directions which his majesty had given us: and the proposal, I did believe, did only come from his master, for that himself was no seaman; yet for all that, I did not neglect it wholly, but called to me some captains and masters that had most experience of that place, and understood it to be very strong, and but one way to approach it, being well provided with ordnance, and we not able to land any, having lost our long-boats; and besides, there was no anchoring but under the power of the castle, and that if sent into the Straits, we might be locked in and be long before we could come out, and consequently void of all hopes of meeting with the plate fleet.

“ That lord Essex and lord Cromwell should ask me what directions I would give them, I must say here as I told lord Essex the
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the other day, speaking of it, that I never heard any such thing: then lord Essex said, if I spoke it not to you, I spoke it to Sir Thomas Love: for if I should have been asked that question, I should not have given any other counsel than what I had written in the instructions which I gave my lord for fighting; where the seventh and the tenth articles will witness most clearly for that point, and did forbear to press till now that I am urged unto it; therefore if officers of that quality will not read and mark their instructions, but pick out faults in him that commandeth, and join with many so to do, such ill offices I refuse, and appeal to higher powers.

“ For the letter that I sent after lord Essex, it was only to desire his lordship to perform the resolution of the council, which was, to make haste and anchor before St. Mary's port, but not to forbid him to fight with any ship that should give him any occasion, as my instructions will answer for me to the contrary.

“ Where it is said, that lord Essex did brail up his fore sail, and hover some time to see whether the lord marshal would send him orders to fight, it doth plainly appear, that my lord had time enough to have maintained a fight with the ships, but that still he had forgotten to read his instructions: and whereas it is said again, that lord Essex, Sir John Prowd, and Sir John Burgh, did advise the lord marshal to attack the ships that were fled, I wonder that they did in council give orders to go to Pontal to take that in first: however, I am sure I lost no minute of time either by night or day, but did my utmost to batter and to have undertaken the Spanish ships likewise, as my instructions to the ships, to which I was appointed to go, can witness under my hand; but how could this be done, when Sir Michael Gore did deceive me and his majesty's service in not warning those twenty ships that should have done the business that night, as the five Dutch ships did to the dishonour of our nation, which, if we had performed,

formed, we had in the morning sent the ships towards Port Royal.

“Whereas it is said, that lord Essex was appointed to batter Pontal, and that it was countermanded: the reason was, that then lord Essex was at anchor, and the other ships were floating and coming in, and therefore fitter to go to Pontal, wherefore I changed that resolution, and sent Sir Michael Gore to those ships to let them know, that they should go up to lord Essex's ships, to whom I would send orders to give those ships directions, which I sent by Sir Thomas York. Whereas it is said, that when I came on board lord Essex, there were but very few officers there, or long after, and that there was no council called, it is true, neither was there any need, for that I was executing the resolution of the council; and even in action, if ever I should ask counsel, it had been great shame, having professed war so long as I had done; and as for Sir John Burgh, since it has been so far particularly mentioned, I must say I gave him direct orders to land his men as safely as possible he could, and withal directed with my hand to the place: whereupon he told me, that in his opinion, directly to the sconce was the best; so then I told him I held him discrete enough, and that he was to do so; therefore after I had told him my opinion, I left it to his discretion: whereupon he sending the boat where captain Bremigem commanded and lieutenant Prowd and other soldiers to the sconce, and finding they were not safe, went himself that way I had directed, but Bremigem and Prowd following his directions, were slain, which troubled me not a little.

“And thinking to give me disquiet enough, they lay to my charge, that it was my fault, that the men with the granadoes were not come up, when I expressly commanded him to attend my ship: and Sir John Burgh cannot deny, but that I sent divers messengers for him, but he could not be found, and since every thing

thing must be my fault, and every one must accuse me, I hope it will be a precedent to those that come after me.

“Whereas it is said, that I was pressed to send some ships up to Port Royal, I cannot remember any such thing for the service of that fort, and the difficulties made me have but little leisure to discourse with any: I was so troubled to see the ships so backward to come up, that I had enough to do to try them, and to send to them; for it may be there was much talking, but I saw but few to help me but Sir Thomas Love: and whereas they say, there were ships enough, they that say so, are much mistaken; for I was fain to take my barge to draw up more ships to batter the fort, and could not get enough, and many of the king's ships were aground, which was the cause we were so long upon Pontal, and yet they say, that there were ships enough to have gone up, but it shews that they took no great heed.

“And whereas it is said, I gave leave to land to any that would, without officers to command them, the serjeant major general can witness the contrary; for I gave orders to Sir John Burgh to command in chief, and to Sir John Gibson and serjeant major Friar, as good officers as were in the whole army, and sufficient for the troops that were landed, till I came myself, which was not long after: for the calling a council the next day, I thought it not very needful, since both haste was required to empty the ships of the landmen to be the readier to undertake the enemy's shipping, and that for want of long-boats we spent much time, and had much trouble to land our men: so that if one should do nothing but call councils, when a man is in action, we should hinder one another: but what I did, I spoke openly and gave my reasons, or opposed it, and then I would have called a council; for I did imagine he that was a good subject would speak for the service of his majesty, and not study to spy out errors in a chief, and so neglect his majesty's service to betray him when he came home: it is a sign he went out with no good in-

tention to do his majesty service; for he that desires to do his best, will not think of his own particular ends, but of God, his king, and his country: and as for the want of victuals, I think there was never so good a commodity, and a more particular and general order than was for the troops first, as the acts of council will shew then, that there was so much landed, and as much of it was brought back again as captain Bruce, captain Salworth, and many other sea captains, can shew witness; although one would have thought that men that had victuals by them, and such means as knapsacks as they had for no other purpose, that nature herself would have taught them not to depart out of their ships without taking some victuals with them, and Sir John Burgh did deliver before your lordships (if I am not mistaken) that his soldiers would have taken some victuals with them, but that he told them that if they died they were provided for, and if they lived they would not be far from their ships: if soldiers do desire it, what fault is there in the officers that would not provide for them? I am sure I saw many officers provide for themselves, but if others will be negligent, and think of nothing, but lay all the trouble and blame upon their chief, and when they have meat in their hands will not put it to their mouths without orders, what should one do in such a case? that most of the officers that were careful had victuals, as my lord duke's regiment, and mine own, and some others; and if I should take a general care, and a particular care, and yet be complained of, I must think, that they who did neglect providing for their soldiers did it on purpose to slander me: whereas I had given a general order, that all soldiers should carry meat in their knapsacks, when they should land in any place whatsoever: these voluntary gentlemen that went with me on land can witness, as likewise my servants, yea my very chaplain himself carried a knapsack, so that I not only gave orders, but observed it myself, and performed it by my own example: and I that have lived these thirty years in the wars, did never know that
upon

upon a guard, that was for twenty-four hours or more, that the general or chief did give orders for victuals, or did ever provide knapsacks, which I would not have done, nor ever did but among raw soldiers and upon the coast of Spain : but when it hath been for four or five days that it was not possible there to get victuals, then there was order given, but never where victuals were to be gotten ; and if captains do not take care for any thing, and likewise the colonels for such things as are necessary, must the chief be such a slave to do all, and others nothing, but to consult together how to slander him ? and because they daily and hourly sit in council together against one, is therefore the cause or manner good ? I am bold enough now to speak more plainly than I did in my former, which made me ask your lordships leave to break loose from the stake, for I had been baited long enough ; for when I heard of a journal composed of landmen and seamen together against their chief, I saw it was particular malice, they no ways proving that I had done them any wrong, but making a catalogue of my errors, which I confess are many : but God hath not given any of them the grace to find them out : for my part I would never have petitioned to make a journal, if I had not been strictly commanded by my general by his instructions, and likewise by this honourable table commanded to shew ; and when I did shew it, did think it should not have offended any, but such as are guilty, and for the present I did not see it have any effect : neither do I find by the petition that it had given any cause, till common fame told these petitioners they were touched ; then they desired, as they say, to be known to be men of honour, their honour then being more clear than now : and whereas it is said, that when I did ride forth it was to discover an enemy ; they are mistaken ; I went only to discover the best way for the troops to march ; for I did not understand that any enemy could give us an alarm by coming out of the town into the gardens that were hard by us, neither do I think him any soldier that

put that point into the journal, for the alarm was delivered to me to come from the continent, otherwise I had not stirred; and for calling a council for such a matter would have been frivolous, except that the army had been commanded by commission, as I find by the petitions they could have wished. Whereas again it is alledged against me, that Sir Charles Rich had no victuals; it was not my fault; for coming the last, he might have brought some with him from on shipboard, and if he made not haste to come sooner, it was not my fault; yet I am assured, that after he had landed, he stayed by the water-side at least half an hour; and for the other troops that were landed, they had above an hour's time to their victuals; and I plainly saw that most of them had received victuals, and had staved some barrels to drink, which if he had not commanded to their companies would never have given over; so that there was time enough for careful officers to have provided for themselves; but this point I have sufficiently proved before.

“It is alledged also, that the serjeant major of colonel Harwood's regiment did come to me, and told me that four companies did want victuals, and that I did answer sharply to him, that now there was no time to speak when we were marching to an enemy; was this so sharp an answer? it will be rather proved, I told him more sharply, that it was a shame for him and the other officers to be so careless as to suffer their soldiers to come on land without victuals, having provision nigh them, and such means to carry it, as it is necessary for a colonel to have such a care of his regiment, as I had over the whole army and fleet; for there was not one in either that I did not my best to relieve in all kinds, having stood upon the half deck of my ship whole days without eating or drinking, and yet the world sees what thanks I have, and how little they have proved against me.

“And whereas it is said, that coming to Hercules's pillars, lord Essex and Sir John Prowd did tell me, that the troops did want victuals;

viſtuals; I can remember no ſuch thing, for if any did, it muſt be the companies that landed the day before with Sir John Burgh, which was the reaſon that he went back; for if I had heard, that thoſe troops that were to march had wanted any, I ſhould never have marched forward without calling a council; for the cauſe of my calling a council was to know every man's opinion, whether they thought it fit to march to the bridge or no; but the alarm of my lord of Valentia of the enemy which we did purſue, was the cauſe of hindering that council when they were gathered together: and whereas it is ſaid, that I needed not to have taken the alarm from my lord of Valentia, it being only his particular advice, and yet I am accused for omitting Sir Henry Bruce's opinion as a particular man; I fear he that put in that clauſe, hath not been ſo long in the wars as my lord of Valentia hath been, for if I ſhould not believe the report of a ſoldier of that experience, and a chief officer of the army, from whom ſhould I take a report?

“ And he that inſinuated that advice, that I might have diſcovered the enemy's horſe with a forlorn hope, was no better ſoldier than the other; for to diſcover horſe with foot, was never heard of, but to diſcover foot with horſe is common: for to ſend out a forlorn hope, and to have it cut off before our faces (which horſe might have done) and we no way able to relieve them, this was wholeſome counſel, and a man fit to judge of the errors of his chief; but time may make him know better, for no man is born a ſoldier, though a man may be too ſoon after he is born, a colonel.

“ Whereas my enemies charge me, that the diſorder of the ſoldiers was for want of care, and, that I going before, ſhould have known of the great ſtore of wine; ſhewing, that he that was the cauſe of that conceit, doth think he could have commanded the army better than the lord marſhal: but I ſee though he gives me directions, yet he did not know why I did ride before; for
that

that at my going before, I knew of no wine, but went to quarter the troops, which I did myself, though it was not my place, neither is there any notice in all the journal of that or any other pains and care which I took of my watching the three nights I was on land; of which, because you should be sensible, I came often in the night to you: I take it this relation was to some other purpose, but all this while I knew of no wine in all the whole village, for it seemed to me a barren place.

But after I had quartered the troops, I returned to the house of don Lewis de Sodo, to see the army march into their quarters; then there was one told me, that there was a cellar with wine in it, and that if it might be delivered to every regiment, it would much refresh them, because they had no drink, which, as you have heard, I did: now the disorders that arise from wine, it is one of the most dangerous mischiefs that can happen to an army, and I could never hear of an army that could avoid that danger, if it did fall into that inconvenience; for soldiers are so addicted to drink, especially wine, that I will undertake that if there should be an enemy's army standing nigh wine, they would run into all dangers to satisfy that delight; for whereas we set guards upon all things that should be preserved, yet set a guard upon wine of common soldiers, and the guard will be drunk first, as they were in this house; for whereas they broke in at four different places where I set guards; when I went to visit one guard, the other would be drunk before I came back again; yea let themselves see, if any man can tell me where an army hath been kept in any order where wine was, and I will confess my ignorance; and to prove my argument, Sir John Morris could not do it at Portugal; lord Cumberland could not do it when he was in the Summer islands, for most of the officers as well as soldiers were drunk; in the same place Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Hawkins, and count Mansfield, when he marched through the out frontiers of France, where he lost three hundred men by that inconvenience;
and

and lord Vere in the Palatinate, found some disorders, though he had but two thousand, and it was but Rhenish wine, yet for the remembrance of it, it was called the drunken quarter as this hath; and since in the very same place I have understood that Conyers Clifford had the same mischance when he lost an hundred men at least; yet for any thing I could learn, or for any thing delivered to me, we lost not with sick and all above twenty, and most of these were in a house, out of which they would not come, do what we could; this is sufficient to prove how dangerous wine is to an army: and if the king of Spain will defend his country, let him but lodge wine upon his coasts, and he may overthrow any army with it: now if these great commanders (whose sword I am not worthy to carry after them) could not avoid this inconvenience, surely then I may be excused. I can say no more, but that I never did imagine that so barren an island as that was, could have so much wine: and whereas, they would have some of the chief officers to have staved the wine, and set a guard, I must say that he who gave that advice, doth not know, that the serjeant major general did spend almost a whole night in staving the wine: I am afraid he was asleep, when he should have been waking.

“Whereas it is presupposed, there were no guards set; it is mistaken on purpose, I fear; for to some of the colonels I did shew it myself, to Sir John Prowd, and gave an order to the serjeant major general to see that all the rest did the like, which no colonel of understanding would have omitted, being for his own safety, and so common a thing; and in my absence it did belong to lord Essex, so that he that says it, did not shew much experience; and he that saith, I gave lord Essex an order without visiting the place, he is still in the wrong, for I did visit all the avenues, the serjeant major general being with me, which was not for me to do, neither to set guards: but by this discourse I find, that he that pressed this, was not by when it was acted: and whereas again it is said, that that night there was no word given out till two of the clock;

I would know, whether that colonel did send his serjeant major for the word to the serjeant major general, and if it was demanded of him, and he gave it not, let him answer for it, for I was no serjeant major: but I would have this remarked, that if these things should have been neglected (as I am sure they were not) yet none of these fault-finders ever complained to me as they should have done, if they had regarded his majesty's service as well as they did find out errors; but his majesty and my lord duke (5) observed how these ill humours did discover themselves at Plymouth, they could not hide them: such men are like foxes, they are the craftiest beasts of all, but there are more of their skins that are sold, than any other beast."

C H A P. V.

DIRECTIONS TO SAIL FROM CADIZ TO GIBRALTAR, ETC. A
DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST, ETC. ALGEZIRA.

HAVING detained the reader a long while in the Gadirian bay, it is full time to weigh, and steer to the pillars of Hercules; describing the pilotage from this remarkable port to those columns, the Ne plus Ultra of the Ancients, the Gibraltar and Ceuta of the Moderns.

To sail from Cales to the Straits, you must go south, and S. by E. to cape Trafalgar, and then you will run far enough without the banks or rocks which lie off S. E. from Cales: from the point of St. Sebastian to cape Trafalgar, which is the north point of the Straits on the west side, it is S. S. E. nine leagues. About two leagues to the northwards of the cape lies Conil; there is a fair sand bay, where you may anchor twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathom clean ground.

He that desires to sail into the Straits of Gibraltar, coming from Cales, let him steer from the point of St. Sebastian, which is the

(5) Duke of Buckingham.

westernmost point of the island Cales, S. by E. and S. S. E. towards the cape Trafalgar, until he is a good way without the land, to avoid the Spanish coast, which is foul; there lies off W. by S. from the island Tarifa, a bank of stones, two leagues or two and a half into the sea, whereupon is eight, nine, or ten feet water; when it blows hard, you may see it break: when you are then somewhat without the cape Trafalgar, and continue your course S. S. E. and S. E. by S. you will make the Barbary shore within cape Spartel, about opposite to Tangier, lying in a great bight, and sand bay: upon the west point of this bay of Tangier, stands a castle somewhat high; and yet somewhat higher, upon the high land, stands a little watch tower; but to the eastward of Tangier stands also an old ruinous watch tower, whereby Tangier is very easy to be known: from Tangier to Apes hill, the coast lies most E. N. E. and E. by N. is the right course to sail through the Straits.

If you would sail into the Straits by night, then keep to the Barbary coast, which is very clean, and there you can take no hurt; but the Spanish coast is foul, as is before said. They that will sail along by the Spanish coast, must go close along by the shore, and run through betwixt the island Tarifa and the aforesaid foul grounds, close along by the island; or else you must keep far off from the island to run along without the shoals; but in the midst, near alike unto both the shores, it is best. Five leagues to the eastward of the island Tarifa lies cape Cabrita, being the west point of the great bay of Gibraltar: over against the hill of Gibraltar, a little to the westward of it, is a good road for a N. E. wind, in twelve, ten, and eight fathom, not far from the shore, across from a great rock, which lies close upon the water side, a little to the eastwards of the fire tower; a little to the westwards of that fire tower, which stands upon the aforesaid point, is a fair sand strand, betwixt the two towers, there you will lie smooth for the western grown sea.

At Tangier and Tarifa, a S. W. by S. moon makes a full sea on the shore; but in all parts of the Straits' mouth, the flood runs until a W. by S. moon. All the other parts of the Straits' mouth have the flood out of the west, which runs in from cape Spartel and cape Trafalgar on each side, along by the shore, much longer than in the middle, to the eastward as far as cape Cabrita on the Spanish, and Apes hill on Barbary side; and at these two points, meets the flood that comes out of the N. E. about the point of Gibraltar, and runs S. W. into the Straits' mouth all the first quarter flood; and the remainder of the tide, the flood sets from the point of Gibraltar W. S. W. towards cape Cabrita. On the top of high water, there comes always out of the west, between two capes, a race of a current, which spreads the whole Straits' mouth from side to side, but continues on neither side seldom longer than half an hour; but in the middle of the Straits' mouth the current runs to the eastward very strong all the tide of ebb, and the race of a current falls always between Apes hill and cape Cabrita, at a W. by S. moon; and at that instant begins the ebb on the west side of these two points to run to the eastward.

The tide of ebb, on the Spanish coast, runs from cape Cabrita about two leagues broad from the shore, as far as the island of Tarifa, and runs between the island and the main, along the shore towards cape Trafalgar; but on the south side of the island, the ebb runs very narrow, except it be in a series of fair weather.

The tide of ebb, on the Barbary side, runs from Apes hill, but narrow along the shore, as far as the point of Alcasar; but on the west side of the point, across the bay, the tide runs about three miles broad; and at cape Malabata, which is the easternmost point of the bay of Tangier, about two miles broad; and so continues to the westward out to cape Spartel, and from thence the ebb runs S. W. along the shore towards Sallée; the ebb to the eastward of cape Cabrita and Apes hill is begun by the aforesaid race of a current, which spreads from one side to the other between

Gibraltar

Gibraltar and Ceuta point, and runs in E. N. E. in the middle; and from the point of Apes Hill to the point of Ceuta, along the shore, all the first half tide, and the remaining half tide the current runs from cape Cabrita E. S. E. into the Straits, by the point of Ceuta; and from the point of Gibraltar, the first half ebb runs N. E. in towards cape Fangerola; but for the better illustration hereof, we have annexed a draught of the Straits' mouth, with the various motions of the tides and currents therein, and upon what point of the compass it ebbs and flows in all parts thereof, where the tide is regular and governed by the moon.

Across cape Trafalgar, about three miles distant from the shore, lies a rock nine feet under water, between which rock, and the cape you may sail through. From the island Tarifa W. by S. lies a ledge of rocks eight or nine, and ten feet under water, which may be seen in foul weather by the breach of the sea.

At the east end of the island Tarifa, is a good road for an easterly wind, in which you may anchor between twenty and thirteen fathom, because nearer the S. E. point of the island, W. S. W. from you, and the sand hill W. N. W. there you will find fourteen fathom water, clear ground. Between this island and the cape Cabrita there is no danger, but what lies always above water. In the middle of this bay is a light-house, across this you may anchor in twelve fathom water, clear ground, a fine distance from the shore; one third part of the distance from the light-house to the cape, is twelve fathom, the ground a blue clay, and that is a good road for a N. E. wind; you may borrow on the cape, the rocks to the westward of the cape to five fathom. A little to the westward of the western point of the bay of Gibraltar, across a little valley in the fair way between this point and cape Cabrita, is a rock eight feet under water, and by the east side of this rock is twelve fathom water: at the point of Malabata lies a ledge of rocks joining to the land, that stretches a little way into the sea, but all above water, and you will have five fathom water fair by

the rocks. Note, the tide of ebb runs very strong to the westward by this point round the bay of Tangier. To anchor in the bay of Tangier, in clear ground, bring the north wall of the town, and cape Malabata N. E. and there is between nine and ten fathom water at a full sea: to run through the Straits' mouth, the wind being westerly, you must ply to the windward, on the Spanish side, from the point of Gibraltar to cape Cabrita, and from thence to the island of Tarifa; but you must turn round about the cape a little before high water, that you may have time to make two or three short boards to the westward of the cape, before the race of the current comes out of the west, which continues but a very little while; which being past, the ebb begins to run unto the westward, and runs so strong, that you may turn up to the island in one tide of ebb; but if you cannot, you may stop the flood any where between the cape and the island, in twelve or fourteen fathom water; and there you must anchor, until so much of the flood be spent, that you may get over to the Barbary side to take the tide of the ebb there; and if you fall a little to the westward of the point of Alcafara, you may get into the bay of Tangier by a low water, from whence you may, observing the tide, turn out at pleasure.

A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF GIBRALTAR BAY:

Gibraltar is a large bay, and has a pretty large town, strongly fortified; which formerly belonged to the Spaniards, but now to the English, situated at the foot of a very high hill on your star-board side going in; to the southward of this town is a mole, in which you may lie in five or six fathom water; and to the northward of the said town is another mole called the Old Mole, but fit only for small craft, for there is not above six feet at low water. The ground between these two moles is very foul, and rocky near the shore; but the anchoring is pretty good about half a mile or three quarters of a mile out, in fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five fathom

fathom water, coarse sand; but the only and best place for anchoring in this bay, is to the northward of the town, in eight or nine fathom water, fine sand: bringing the Old Mole head about S. E. off you, and the N. end of Gibraltar hill east off you, and there you may safely ride. To the westward of this bay are a few houses, and old ruins, which they call Old Gibraltar; here you may also anchor in case of necessity, or otherwise one would not choose it, for that ground is very bad, especially near the shore; and in the offing the water is so deep, that you have no ground in ninety or a hundred fathom water. For a better knowledge of that place, I refer you to the following scheme of Gibraltar bay; I shall only add, that if you would sail out of this road with an easterly wind, you must not come too near Gibraltar hill, but rather go a little afore the wind towards the western shore, as above directed.

On the Spanish coast about eight leagues N. N. E. from Gibraltar, lies Estepona, having between them several fire towers, with good anchoring ground on the coast: if you come to anchor near to the next fire tower eastward from Gibraltar, then let Gibraltar bear S. S. W. from you; and drop your anchor in twenty-five fathom, where you will have good anchor ground and black sand. Here you have the best lying for a Levant wind to sail out of the Straits; at the second tower, you may anchor in twenty and twenty-two fathom good ground; here also there is a valley whence you may fetch water.

You may anchor before Estepona in fourteen fathom water.

To the eastward from Estepona, about six leagues lieth Maribella, having between them five watch towers; Maribella lies about fourteen leagues N. N. E. from Gibraltar.

In sailing in for Maribella, you are to take notice of two great pack houses which stand upon the strand, and a four square watch tower near the east side of the pack houses; then bring the gate of the city to be seen between the pack houses, and the watch tower,

tower, where you may anchor in nine or ten fathom, because the ground is not good directly opposite the town.

And you may have fresh water about a faker's shot to the eastward of the city.

About five leagues and a half E. N. E. from Maribella, lies Fangerola, having between them five watch towers.

Fangerola is a castle seated in a fair sandy bay; here you have shelter for W. S. W. winds, and good even anchoring ground in seven or eight fathom.

E. N. E. about three leagues from Fangerola lies cape Malaga, or cape Mool (the west point of the bay of Malaga.)

And from cape Malaga N. E. three leagues, lies the city of Malaga, having between them a fair coast, with ten or twelve fathom good anchor ground any where therein.

Malaga is easily known by these marks; there stands on the east side a fort, and there are two walls descending downwards to another fort towards the sea.

To anchor in this road, bring the head to bear N. by E. from you, then you may anchor at ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathom good ground.

As I am now under way from the Sinus Gaditanus, following the course of the coasting pilot, through the Fretum Herculeum, I shall touch upon past incidents as they may occur.

To the southward of cape Cottés (now Spartel, or Sprat) landed king don Sebastian, a monarch endowed with the happiest disposition (1) that could be wished for from a prince: the greatest proof that can be given of his magnanimity, is, that notwithstanding he was brought up in softness and effeminacy among women and ecclesiasticks, he had scarce attained to years of maturity when he was observed to languish for nothing but honour

(1) Vertot's Revolutions in Spain.

and

and renown: he undertook the conquest of Africa in one thousand five hundred and seventy-eight, to which he was no less spurred on by his zeal for the Christian religion than, by his own natural ambition. His forces appeared to be very much inferior to so great an enterprize, which did not, however, deter him from passing over into Barbary with his army, which consisted of no more than fourteen thousand men; nor from attacking Muley Melec, king of Morocco, one of the most powerful princes in the universe, and who waited his coming with an army of fifty thousand strong. So rash an attempt had the expected success: the king don Sebastian, oppressed by the unequal numbers of his enemies, was entirely defeated. He was, in vain, pressed to yield himself prisoner, and was killed in the twenty-third year of his age, after having done actions which deserve never to be forgotten.

To the northward of cape Trafalgar, is the town of Conil, situated upon the coast of the sea, where the Atlantic presents her vast ocean, being without the capes Trafalgar and Spartel; and therefore Carteia could not have stood where that town now stands. Between these capes are no eddies, nor are they violent till you come near to Tarifa; therefore Maherbal's action with Lælius, must have been between the isle of Tarifa and Cabrita point: this is a further proof that Carteia must have been in Gibraltar bay; and Lælius, who rode at anchor off Carteia in that bay, descried the quinquereme detached by the Carthaginian admiral, weighing and putting out of that bay: where, observing the fleet following the quinquereme at a distance, Lælius rowed along the Spanish coast to intercept Maherbal from entering the Mediterranean: and the foul ground about Tarifa, with the counter currents, occasions those eddies, which are sometimes very dangerous to small vessels. These rocks and foul grounds now under water, perhaps were those certain islands called Aphrodisiæ, planted by the Phocenses, already mentioned; and might have been sunk by some earthquake:

quake: this is not at all improbable, similar events from the same cause are so well known, that it is needless to expatiate.

About a mile and three quarters south of Cabrita, which is a bluff, rocky point, and forms the western side of Gibraltar bay, is a sunk rock, on which one of his majesty's ships struck in turning through the Straits' mouth; it has fifteen feet water over it, and bears S. E. from that point of land to the westward of Pigeon island at three quarters of a mile distance; there are many rocks round both these points, and Pigeon isle. On Cabrita point is a watch or light tower, and a one gun battery; a tower is also on the other point, and another to the westward at a mile and a half distance. Two miles north of Cabrita, projects another point, rocky, and shoals, for half a mile into the bay; on this is a light tower, and a four gun battery: a mile and three quarters from this point is the island of Alcacera, which gave name to the town; and here the Moors first landed: you must give it a good birth, because shoals of rocks lie off it upwards of a quarter of a mile to the eastward: this isle is garrisoned and has nine cannon mounted; there are two reefs of rocks from it to the shore distant half a mile to the nearest land. To the northward of the isle you may come to anchor, but it is dangerous riding in a Levanter or easterly wind, and should be avoided. It has a good harbour for small craft, between the isle and the town of Algezira; because the isle and reefs of rocks break off the sea. There is a six gun battery at the north end of the town, which, with the isle, their town, and xebecks, gallies, &c. are protected: this town of Algezira I visited in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three. It is situated on the side of the bay almost due west of the city of Gibraltar, at five miles and a half distance right across; and four miles due north from Cabrita point. It was once the seat of the African empire in Spain; situated on the plain of a rising ground, and not, as father Mariana describes, on a steep and craggy hill; it was two distinct towns, divided into the old and
new,

new, as its ruins still shew; for the town to the north is only inhabited, and separated by a rivulet: the lands round are fertile and pleasant; but at about a mile and a half westward, are mountains, some of them quite naked, and others clothed with large cork woods: these mountains are a long range of hills, first rising very leisurely, called Orespeda: it then divides into several branches, having distinct appellations: at length into two: one of them, opposite to Murcia, expires in the sea near Muxara, or Murgis: the other stretches towards Malaga, and joining to the mountains of Granada, shoots beyond Gibraltar and Tarifa, as if it was once inclinable to have passed over into Africa; which perhaps it does, though not so aspiring, humbling itself, so as to be covered by the five-fold currents of the Straits: and then, as Cales rears its white head, so does Mons Abila in Africa: and nothing more than a branch of the mountain Orespeda: for were the waters of the Straits to retire like those of Jordan, or gather in a heap like those of the Red or Erythræan sea, when the whole Memphian host were lost, a rocky ridge might be discovered, which joins Africa to Europe about the Junonian isle, or Tarifian mountains: the tail of the ox's hide stretched out; for as the head is lopped off at the Pyrenean hills, so the tail seems to be chopped off at Tarifa, that which lies hid being under the waters of the Straits.

All Spain, says Lucan (2), spreads itself in the shape of an ox's hide, surrounded on every side by the sea, and formed almost like an island, except that the Pyrenean mountain intermixing itself with Gaul, separates it from the north pole. That nature has planted this lofty mountain, whose top is equal to the sky, to occasion a division between such extensive territories: the soil bare and covered with no grass, because the northern side of it is exposed to the very fat and fertile country of the Gauls: and on the opposite side, the woodland summit, whose view extends to the

(2) Lucan, lib. v.

barren fields of Iberia's land, represents thick woods and fruitful pastures; as if that mountain had granted its richness to the fertile fields of Gaul, and that it might clothe itself with verdure, had robbed the Iberian clime. Taric, the Moor, landed upon the isle before this town, and Algezira took name from it, i. e. the island. After they had gained firm footing, they built this town from the materials of Carteia: it was certainly built by these people at their first coming: and although there are great ruins, as Mr. Conduit has justly remarked, yet they are not such as can give any room to believe them the remains of a Roman city; for the walls of the town, dispersed and overset in great fragments, are of the composition called tapia, peculiar to the Moor; and used by that people in the building of their walls; which, when finished, is a compact wall, and in time petrifies, and consolidates with the hardest stone, and of which there are two forts.

No building is in this town, but of the Moorish stile; no Roman fragments of buildings, no Roman coins are here found in removing the earth, or any one thing to countenance such a conjecture. It is true, there are some pieces of marble blended among their buildings, and dispersed in the town, but they were taken from Carteia.

The island is exposed to the fire of our ships, which, when taken, commands Algezira; and would, should Gibraltar be besieged, retard the siege of that fortress, by preventing their vessels from supplying them with ordnance, stores, and ammunition, for their batteries.

The Moors, after landing, marched to Medina Sidonia, which they took by assault after a siege of some days. Algezira underwent some sieges whilst in possession of the Moors; when at length it surrendered on the twenty-sixth of March to the Christians, and of their æra one thousand three hundred and forty-four. The Moors landed in seven hundred and eleven. At this last siege, to the assistance of Alonzo of Castile, went the earls of Derby and Salisbury.

Salisbury. The Mahometans did great harm to the besiegers, by shooting iron bullets amongst them; and it is the first time mention is made, says Mariana, of gunpowder and ball in the Spanish histories. I saw a great many stone shot about the town, perhaps they were carried there afterwards; or were used instead of iron, inserted by mistake by the Spanish historians, because stone shot of a vast diameter were originally used before iron balls were invented, or rather improved upon the other.

In the course of the siege, the English and French soldiers went away, which encouraged the infidels to hazard a battle. The river Palmones, four miles northward of Algezira, humouring the curvature of the bay, parted the two armies: both parties several times meeting in that river; at last they came to a battle, in which the Moors shewed no bravery, but presently fled. The Palmones is broader and deeper than the Guadaranque about a mile to the eastward, where stood the ancient Calpe Carteia, but does not run so high up the country as I was informed by the natives. It is, as well as the Guadaranque, a pleasant stream; gliding through a beautiful country in the months of March, April, May, and part of June, for then the hot season advances; and is therefore the season for strangers to visit this part of the country. The properest season to visit the Mediterranean ports may be learnt from the following answer of a Spaniard to Philip the second, who asked him, which were his best harbours? To which the don replied, "June, July, and Carthagenæ."

This town at present consists of scattered houses, which stand between rubbish and decayed buildings; so that in general the place is in a poor, mean condition. Having satisfied myself with the Moorish remains of antiquity, not finding any thing that could give the least encouragement to believe that the city of Carteia or Tartessus ever occupied this place, or any Roman town whatever: I conclude, as I began, that no town was ever in the

bay of Gibraltar before the Moorish descent; except the ancient Carteia upon the river of Mares where Rocabillo is now situated, distant five miles from the glacis of Gibraltar.

Taric, that martial general, seeing that his enterprize had been attended with consequences far more successful than what he could have presumed to aspire to, even in hopes, thought himself bound in duty to render an account of his proceedings to his superiour, Moufa; and the sooner to engage him to partake of the glory which must accrue to their nation, he represented to him, the immense wealth of Spain, and with how little difficulty he might get the whole country into his possession. Taric painted out the Spaniards as an effeminate, dispirited, terrified, vagabond people, miserably dispersed since they had lost their king, and far fitter to carry fetters upon their legs than to bear weapons in their hands. In a word, he gave him to understand, that if he would not speedily come over himself to strike the finishing stroke, and complete the ruin of the Gothic empire, he would himself undertake it, and answer for the performance thereof with his own head; and that in a very short space of time; but still with the proviso, that he would furnish him with necessary recruits of men, having been obliged to diminish his army by employing a considerable part of his troops in garrisons to secure the several cities, &c. which he had thought to preserve undemolished: Moufa, without the least hesitation, immediately undertook to cross the Straits in person, which he did, at the head of eighteen thousand Africans; being convinced, that the reduction of so opulent a kingdom was an enterprize fully sufficient to satisfy his boundless ambition, and insatiable thirst after riches.

Being arrived at Gibraltar, where he landed, he called an assembly of his most experienced commanders, to consult with them the properest methods in order to complete the destruction of the Goths, and to bring them under the most servile, abject, and infamous bondage that it could be imagined one of the fiercest and most

most warlike nations in the universe could possibly ever be reduced; and they came to a resolution of not leaving behind them one place that might be capable of causing any disturbance in the already vanquished provinces: and that it was altogether necessary to make sure of the places of the greatest strength before they advanced into the heart of the country. This scheme had the desired effect (3), for they over-ran the whole country in an amazing manner. When I come to treat of Gibraltar, I shall be very particular; I shall now return to the Straits, so called from that hill, which the Spaniards call El Plaça, on account of its garrison and importance; and the inhabitants about this town of Algezira; the dead man, because the summit of that mountain has, at that distance, the appearance of a man lying upon his back, his head, fall of the neck, rising chest, sinking stomach, thighs and legs stretched out, covered, or rather swaddled from head to foot: the head being at the northernmost end at the rock-guard, lengthening to the extremities of the feet, to the southward: I have often viewed it myself in the same light, after having the hint from a captain of one of the king of Spain's xebecks of war, otherwise it might have escaped my observation.

This once famous city of Algezira, that the Moors held out three notable sieges in it against the kings of Castile, and was at last taken by Alphonso the eleventh, begins now to rise out of her ruins, in which she has laid ever since that period, as the Spaniards have lately built several houses, and are going to erect a new street and convent. When I walked over the ruins of this city, that once made a figure in the world, by its vast strength, the sieges which it has sustained, the troops of various nations before it, the supplies from other powers to reduce it; it being the first place where the Moors made their descent to over-run a whole nation in as few years as it took centuries to regain; its being

(3) Vertot's Hist. of Spain, p. 235.

once the African emporium in Spain, the first city where artillery was made use of in Europe, and which in a few years after, in a great measure, gained that ever memorable battle of Cressy: a city, where several crowned heads have laid before; where some have gone from this life to a better: a city, of which don (4) Alphonso and Philip the fifth, among their other titles, stiled themselves kings, as well as of Gibraltar: and the battles fought near, and round, upon its account: I say, when I considered all these past events, and viewed it as I walked, I could not help breaking forth in the words of Mr. Shaw (5):

“ In what a serious train of thought a traveller can scarce fail
 “ of being engaged, when he views such large scenes of ruin and
 “ desolation! He is struck immediately with the very solitude of
 “ those remains that are left behind, which instructive history
 “ tells him, were once crowded with inhabitants: where empe-
 “ rours and kings have given laws in their turns. Every fragment
 “ of ruins points out to him the weakness and instability of all
 “ human art and contrivance: reminding him, further, of the
 “ many thousands that lie buried below, now lost in obscurity,
 “ and forgotten to the world!”

I have already related the famous siege in one thousand three hundred and forty-two, carried on with success by that persevering prince, Alonzo the eleventh; and shall therefore say no more upon that subject. Vertot relates, that Abdelmelec, the son of Mahomet, who was the fifth of that name, and son of Ishmael, crossed the Straits of Gibraltar, at the head of a numerous army, in one thousand three hundred and thirty-three, and having assumed the quality of king of Algezira, that king Mahomet looked with a jealous eye upon the establishment of that young prince,

[(4) In 1465. Vid. Turquet's Hist. of Spain, B. xxi. p. 794. (5) Vid. Mr. Thomas Shaw's Travels, or Observations.

who,

who being presumptive heir to the crown of Morocco, might one day be in a capacity to renew the pretensions which that crown had to the sovereignty over the Moors in Spain. Such was once the consequence of Algezira and the country about it; for by being in possession of that strong and well situated city, it could always be a safe port of reception to the Moors who might come over from Africa.

I also find, that, in the year one thousand three hundred and nine, Castile and Arragon made an alliance against the Moors in Spain: that one of them undertook the siege of Almeria, and the other of Algezira, but were unfortunate in their attempts, not being able to take either. However, the Castilians made themselves masters of Gibraltar, Quesada, and Bedmar.

I shall say no more for the present of Algezira, but may occasionally touch upon it, when I shall treat of Gibraltar; I must once more embark my readers for the Herculean Straits, going far back; premising, that in the year of Christ one thousand four hundred and sixty-three, the king don Alphonso, of Portugal, made war upon the Moors of Africa; he left Ceuta, and arrived at Gibraltar, at the intreaty and persuasion of king Henry of Castile, where these two princes remained and continued together for the space of eight days, eating at one table, and shewing great tokens of love and brotherly friendship one to the other (6).

In this same year, don Alphonso conducted a great army into Africa, and set down before Tangier: he was followed by all the nobility of Portugal: after he had invested that old city, he was obliged to pass over to Gibraltar, the affairs of state calling him into Spain: but during his absence, his troops received an overthrow, as they attempted to scale the walls of Tangier, where a great number of men of distinction and merit were slain and taken.

(6) Vid. Turquet's Hist. Spain, B. xx. p. 776.

Upon intelligence of this check which his troops had sustained, he embarked at Gibraltar, and sailed over into Africa: he made his descent on the mountainous and woody country of Benaca, from whence he was obliged to retire, after having sustained great loss; and he himself narrowly escaped, by don Edward de Meneses, earl of Viona, sacrificing his own life to save that of the king's. The earl of Villa Real covered the retreat, and, by his valour and prudence, saved the army, fighting bravely, and defending it by his example against an amazing number of Moors.

The king, desirous to reward the prowess of this earl, did not only publicly praise him, but also gave him the honour of being the shield and defender of the faith the same day. These adverse fortunes obliged king Alphonso to return back into Portugal; where (agreeably to those times) he applied himself to vows and pilgrimages, thereby to appease the saints, patrons, and conductors, as he thought, of his unhappy and disastrous enterprizes.

King Henry of Castile, at his departure from Gibraltar, went to Eccia, where he assembled a mighty army, and invaded the territories of Granada, but the ambassadors of king Ishmael, the Moor, met him, and presented the tribute, with sundry other gifts, so that he passed on no further, but dismissed his forces, and went to Jaen.

In one thousand four hundred and thirty-eight (7), the sacred war of Africa, which was led by don Ferdinand, master of Avis, and don Henry, master of the order of Christ, infants of Portugal, did not meet with the desired success: they had obtained leave by great importunities from the king their brother to pass the sea to Barbary, where they besieged Tangier with an army of only six thousand men from Portugal. They continued the siege thirty-seven days, but the besieged defended themselves well, which gave time for the Moors to assemble a vast army. This infinite

(7) Turquet's Hist. Spain, B. xix. p. 713.

multitude of Africans, both horse and foot, arrived to the succour of the place, led by the kings of Fez, Morocco, Velez, and other princes in person. Upon this the Portuguese endeavoured to retire, but being in a manner invested, they were forced to fortify themselves, and change their condition of besiegers, so as to have no means to escape; and were therefore under the necessity to capitulate for their lives and liberty, promising to yield the town of Ceuta, and all the captive Moors that were in Portugal. This being agreed on, don Henry and his men were sent back naked and stripped to Ceuta. The infant don Ferdinand remained for an hostage in the hands of the king of Fez, until the capitulation was complied with. But don Henry being returned with this disbanded army into Portugal, king Edward assembled the states of the realm at Ebor, greatly distressed at this unhappy catastrophe, to take some course for the delivery of don Ferdinand. They came to a resolution of not complying with the delivery of Ceuta, but consented to all other means to free don Ferdinand. The difficulty and delays were such, together with the death of king Edward, that don Ferdinand passed the rest of his days in prison in the hands of the infidels with a peculiar constancy, and a rare example of patience and religion, comforting the other captive Christians, not only as they saw a prince participate of their miseries, but also one who encouraged them by godly exhortations to continue constant in the faith of our Saviour. Such was the unlucky and rash step of this expedition!

As these Straits of Gibraltar have ever been an inlet to the Mediterranean seas, as also an outlet for the most ancient navigators, it is but reasonable to conclude, that vast fleets, and numberless ships have entered the same, from about the days of the Tyrian navigators to this time. The vast space, with the various revolutions in all countries, and the silence of authors, with the loss of many, puts it out of my power to give the reader every event of nautical affairs, that must have happened between the Herculean

pillars: all that I can say upon this occasion, is, that they must have been almost innumerable, their trade immense, their vessels large, their actions great, and the friendly ports of Carteia, Tingis, and Gadir, most happily situated for commerce, safety, and protection; each of them fraught with such variety of great and noble events, as would swell these sheets to a prodigious size, had they been faithfully transmitted down to us. But what does not time subdue, aided by cruel wars, that lay whole nations desolate, and sweep away all records of countries into the ruins of those very countries of which they treat.

The Phœnicians, from whom the Carthaginians were descended, navigated into the ocean by the Straits of Gibraltar, and established many colonies; Thebes in Bæotia, Cadiz, Carteia, Utica, Tingis, &c. It was under the conduct of the Phœnicians, that Solomon's fleets sailed to Ophir and Tharſis from the ports of Ailath and Eziongeber on the Red sea. Ophir was the general name of the eastern ports of Africa, and Tharſis that of the western coast both of Africa and Spain. This commerce, Jehoshaphat, king of Judah, endeavoured to renew, but his enterprize was blasted by the destruction of his vessels in the harbour. It is past all doubt that the cape of Good Hope was doubled in those early times: and that the Portuguese were not the first discoverers of that navigation (8). I shall therefore only confine myself to these Straits.

No Persian monarch ever made a greater figure at sea than Mithridates, who disputed the empire of the Mediterranean with the Romans, made himself master of it from the Cilician to the Ionian sea; (which latter was all the sea between Sicily and Greece, of which the Adriatic, speaking properly, is but a part), and to repress the Roman naval power, and interrupt their trade, filled the whole Mediterranean with pirates as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, where they lay secure in that bay.

(8) Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 220.

Cicero (9) calls the inhabitants of Cadiz, Pœni; by which you know them to have been Phœnicians.

The Carthaginians, who were the descendents of the Phœnicians, at the beginning of the third Punic war, had seven hundred thousand inhabitants. It was once mistress of three hundred cities, possessed all that tract of land from the Straits of Gibraltar to the greater Syria, besides a great extent of territories without the Straits on the coast of Afric, (where Hanno established many colonies) and a part of Spain, particularly the magnificent city of Carthagera, which they built: besides the island in the ocean far beyond the Straits of Cadiz, which the author of the Book of Wonders attributes to Aristotle, &c.

The Spaniards and Phœnicians had great establishments in Spain; they traded to the western part of England, and the other British isles, comprehended by the Ancients under the general name of Cassiterides, from the tin with which they abounded. The commerce of lead and tin was so lucrative, that they kept it a great secret. Strabo relates, that a Phœnician being pursued by a Roman vessel, chose to dash his ship against the rocks, to draw the Roman after him, rather than discover his course. Publius Crassus afterwards made that voyage, and published his journal: both Diodorus (1) Siculus and Tacitus (2) acquaint us, that trade had civilized the inhabitants of Cornwall more than those of the other parts of Great Britain. Strabo (3) relates, that the commodities of England were corn, cattle, gold, silver, iron, skins, leather, and hunting dogs; and, speaking of the Cassiterides, he adds tin (4) and lead: Tacitus (5) joins pearls: Cæsar mentions neither gold, silver, nor pearls. Cicero (6) affirms, in express terms, from the information of his brother Quintus, that there

(9) Cicero pro Balbo. (1) Lib. iv. (2) In Vita Agricolaë, lib. xxiv.
 (3) Strabo, lib. iv. (4) Ibid, lib. iii. (5) Tacitus vita Agricolaë, cap.
 xii. (6) Cicero, Epist. fam. lib. vii. ad Trebat. Epist. ad Atticum, lib. iv,
 Epist. 17. & 116.

was neither gold nor silver in England, which shews, that the English metals were not then known to the Romans, but were so, very soon afterwards; for Strabo, who talks of their tin and lead trade, lived under Augustus and Tiberius. There was either no copper, or not a sufficient quantity in England at that time, because they were furnished with that metal from abroad (7). Tin from the Baracanac isles, was a great commodity for the mart of Tyre, and lead and tin from the same place were used in the time of the Trojan war.

Herodotus (8) affirms, that the Greeks had their tin from thence, and called the part from whence they took it, Cassiterides.

Spain (at least the southern parts) was always much more famous for traffick than Gaul. The Phœnicians frequented it, especially that part which lies towards the Straits of Gibraltar at the mouth of the Bætis, celebrated by ancient authors under the name of Tharhis (9). The prophet, when treating of the rich supply of Tyre, says, "Tarshish was thy merchants, by reason of the multitude of all kind of riches; with silver, iron, tin, and lead, they traded in thy fairs."

Pliny writes, that the Romans steered the same course to the East Indies, which the fleet of Alexander did, and describes it exactly from Alexandria to the Indies; he says, the desire of gain had made the merchants steer shorter courses sometimes by taking the open sea; by sailing from one cape to another, which was both a safer and a shorter course. What he says concerning the circumnavigation of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Red sea is very remarkable, and puts the matter of fact beyond all doubt. This he proves from the wrecks of vessels, which had sailed from the coast of Spain, the broken pieces whereof were found in the Red sea. He speaks of Hanno's journal of the same

(7) Cæsar, lib. v. cap. xii. de Bell. Gall. Strabo, lib. III. (8) Herod. lib. III. cap. xv. (9) Ezek. xxvii. 12.

voyage, as a thing certain; and adds, upon the credit of Cornelius Nepos, a faithful historian, that one Eudoxius, flying from Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, embarked on the Red sea, and landed at Cadiz (1).

The Phœnicians, after the death of Hercules, were inticed to continue in these parts of Spain, upon account of the trade which they had set on foot from Britain to Cadiz, Carteia, &c. and Tingis, Tiggir, or Taggar, which signifies traders: to Tyre, the coast of Phœnice, &c. and the silver mines, called the mountains of silver; whereof the inhabitants found such quantities in Spain, that they forged their anchors and other utensils of their ships of that metal. Besides metals, Spain furnished several other rich commodities, as wine, wool, stuffs, linen cloth, (of which they were said to be the inventors) honey, wax, borax, vermillion, fossiles, salt, pickled fish, and a sort of rush called spartum, useful for cordage and other parts of shipping, from whence Carthagenæ was called Spartaria. But oil must not have been plentiful, even in this province of Andalusia, in those times, since Aristotle (2) says, "That they purchased it of the Phœnicians with bars of silver." In the time of Augustus and Tiberius these southern coasts of Spain sent great fleets of merchantmen to Italy (3). The mountains of Spain abounded with metals and minerals of several kinds, particularly gold, quicksilver, copper, and lead; the greatest quantities of which, appear, however, to have been dug out of those called Mariani, in this province of Bætica, which the Romans improved to no small advantage, having every where their procuratores rei metallicæ, or overseers of the mines (4). Strabo says, that in the one hundred and sixteenth year of Rome,

(1) Plin. lib. vi. cap. xxiii. Lib. ii. cap. lxvii. (2) Opera Philosoph. lib. iii. (3) Arbuthnot on Coins. (4) Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xxiv. p. 475.

the Spaniards were so rich, that their mangers and water-troughs were made of silver (5).

This province of Bætica was remarkable for fine soil, climate, and produce; and so little did the inhabitants know of physic, that, if Possidonius may be believed, they used, like the Lusitani, to lay their sick relations along the public streets and roads, to have the advice of such passengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were so robust and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but used to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themselves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horses and cattle: the former of which, they bred from the beginning in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and especially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it seems, so very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on those healthy mountains, that it could not be used either for food or drink, or even, as is told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheese with, without some mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greatest perfection: as for mineral waters, they flow, in the greatest quantity, both hot and cold: the most famous of the warm kind are those of Hispal, Cordoua, and Granada. So on the lands of the Bastuli, up the river Verde by Estapona, at the village and pass of Estan, are medicinal cold waters; and where several of us went for the recovery of our healths, from the garrison of Gibraltar in one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, which in four weeks had the desired effect.

I find in the fabulous history of Spain, that the river Bætis took its name from Bætus, the sixth king, and last of the line of Tubal,

(5) Mariana's Hist. Spain.

as also the province of Bætia, or Bætica, formerly Turditania, and since Andalusia, had their names: he is said to have been surnamed Turditanus, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging learning. Father Mariana following the fabulous Berofus, says, there was a second Dionysius, or Bacchus, who was the son of Semele, one hundred and fifty years before the Trojan war, founded Nebrixa, betwixt the two mouths of the Guadalquivir, so called from Nebridæ, which signifies in Greek, deer skins, worn by Dionysius and his followers, especially when they offered sacrifice; the name Veneria was afterwards given to Nebrixa.

Diodorus writes, that there were three Dionysii or Bacchi: the first was son of Deucalion, or Noah, the same called Osiris; the second was son of Proserpine, Ceres, who was painted with horns, to shew he was the first that yoked oxen to plow the land; the third, the son of Semele, born in adultery, in the city Meros, which signifies a thigh; whence the poets feign that Jupiter bred him in his thigh (6).

Geryon stands the seventh in the fabulous Berofian list of kings; and the first from whence the light of true history is drawn.

He was an African or Libyan, of a gigantic stature, and a bloody tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood five hundred and fourteen, and reigned, according to some, twenty-five, and thirty-four years according to others (7): against him came Osiris, or, as he is called by others, Dionysius, king of Egypt, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant, and divided his kingdom between his three sons, commonly called the three Geryons, having first exacted a strict promise from them, that they would reign amicably, and abstain from those plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had so justly punished their father.

(6) Vid. Mar. Hist. Spain.
Hisp. Subandiluvii 514.

(7) Conf. Garibay, compend. Vas. Chron.

This Geryon was also called Deabus, and is furnamed by the Greeks, Chryso, on account of the vast wealth which he had gotten by plunders and robberies. He is said to have brought over a number of wild or Scenite Arabs, and to have been the founder of Gerona: Diodorus Siculus (8) makes him the son of Chrysdor, or the golden sword, the son of Medusa: from his defeat is supposed to have sprung the fable of Hercules's overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away (9); this was his tenth labour when he took the oxen out of Iberia or Spain, in the further part of which he erected, say my authors (1), his two pillars, as the utmost limits of the then known world. These ten labours he achieved, as the fable says, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is affirmed to have killed Antæus, a famous giant of a monstrous size, who, when weary with wrestling, or labour, was immediately refreshed by touching the earth. Pliny makes him the founder of Tangier. Hercules overcame him with wrestling, and slew him; and after him, the tyrant Busiris, in his way through Egypt.

Justin makes mention of this Hercules, and of his vast herds of cattle (2); but Strabo and Pliny look upon the whole as a mere fable (3); and Arrian further affirms (4), that there never was such a king as Geryon in Spain. Aristotle says, that Hercules (whom some Spanish authors affirm to have been not the Egyptian, but the Greek one, and son of Jupiter by Alcmena (5) had been inticed over into Spain by the richness of its inhabitants; whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongst them, forbidding the use or possession of silver, which was still in force some time after the coming thither of the Carthaginians (6):

(8) Lib. ix. c. iv. Vide & Aldrete, var, antiguedad, lib. iv. c. xviii. (9) Univ. Hist. Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xxiv. p. 504. n. (C). (1) Idem, Vol. vi. B. i. c. xvi. n. (1). (2) Hist. lib. xliv. (3) Strabo, lib. ii. Plin. lib. iv. c. xxii. (4) De gest. Alexan. Mag. lib. ii. (5) Vid. Gerundens. paralipom. lib. ii. Ant. Nebugens. & al. (6) Vasei. Chronic. Sub andiluv. 539.

something

something like this law was likewise among some of the ancient Gauls.

The eighth king, or rather successors of Geryon, was the three Geryons, said to have been all of one birth, and the last of the Geryonic race, who reigned with surprising concord, and are thought to have given birth to the fable that represents them with a three-fold body: these being supposed to have had a hand in the death of Osiris, in revenge of that of their father: Hercules, his son, brought a great army from Egypt, overcame and slew them, one after another, in single combat: it is therefore said, that the columns between the Calpean and Abilean mountains were set up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to Garibay, near forty years, when they received their overthrow, and were buried in the island of Gades (7). Hercules, who did not come so much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no sooner overcome the three Geryons, than he made ready to pass into Italy, and left the government of Spain to his son Hispal: by this fabulous account he is supposed to have built Seville, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by Cæsar: and from Hispal began a new succession of Spanish kings: Hispan succeeded him, who made the city of Gades his chief residence (8). Hercules hearing of his grandson Hispan's death, returned into Spain, and reigned there from the year of the flood six hundred and fifty-eight. Now old Geryon began his reign in the year of the flood five hundred and fourteen. This fabulous account therefore agrees with history, who places the Phœnician hero to have flourished about the days of righteous Abraham. Hercules, grown very old, bequeathed the Spanish kingdom to Hesperus, one of his captains and companions, who died, and was buried at Gades, or Cadiz, where that stately monument was erected to him, according to Pomponius Mela, that

(7) Ubi sup. lib. iv. c. xii. ad fin.

(8) Idem, ib. in fin. c. xiv.

famous geographer, born on the shore of the Straits of Gibraltar, between Tarifa and Cadiz, at the ancient port of Bæsispo, who says, that they were the Tyrians who built that magnificent temple to the Hercules, who slew the three Geryons, and which became famous both for its antiquity and vast treasures (9): this temple became in high veneration, not only among the Spaniards, but was resorted to by most nations of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

Hesperus was the eleventh king from Tubal, or Thubal, as the Spaniards, ever fond of their own antiquity, pretend to maintain, by adopting and relying upon the fabulous Berofus, who affirms, that Tubal went into Spain in the year of the flood one hundred and thirty-four until the reign of Romus, the nineteenth monarch of that people: in whose reign the Phœnicians, according to this fabulous account, are said to have made their first entrance into Spain; and about the same time also the famed Greek chieftain Jacchus, or Bacchus, surnamed Liber Pater, not so much with a design to conquer that country, as to spread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other side of the world, where he is said to have carried his conquests as far as the Indies. As he travelled through this province of Andalusia, he built the famed city Nebrisa, in the province of Bætica, since called Veneria, and now Lebrixa, the native place of the learned Anthony Nebriffensis, often quoted in this chapter; who says, on this head, that Lusus, the son of Bacchus, gave name to Lusitania; and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the destruction of Troy.

The one and twentieth of these fabulous kings was Erythræus, in whose reign is placed the founding of Carthage. He is said to have given name to the famed island of Erythæa, or Erythia, as

(9) Mela, de sit. orb. lib. III. c. vi.

it is called by Mela (1) and Pliny (2), an island, which has been sought for far and near, of which I have already treated.

In the reign of Gargoras, the succeeding king, Mnestheus built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coasts of Andalusia, near the city of Gades, or Cadiz; in which last, as the Andalusians say, was a stately temple, built by the same warrior, which became in time famous, and much resorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world: so much for the fabulous account, in which we may easily perceive the connection it bears to real history, mentioned in the former part of this book. I shall confine myself to my plan, keeping within, or near these Straits; and Mariana observes in his history of Spain, that after the expulsion of the Phœnicians, and return of the Babylonians, the Phœnices, inhabitants of a city so called in Ionia, of the lesser Asia, sailed to Spain, and planted in certain islands, called Aphrodisiæ, opposite to Tarifa; but, says he, all these islands are lost, except one called Junonia. That after the death of Argantonius, great revolutions happened, and Spain, like a ship without a rudder or pilot, was tossed by every wave: that when the Phœnicians returned, and had taken Cadiz, with a design to pass over from that island to the continent the very first opportunity that might offer, for they wanted a pretence, and thought none so good as that of religion; they asked leave of the natives to build a temple to Hercules, feigning that he had appeared and ordered them so to do: having by this fraud obtained their desires, they built a temple in the nature of a fort; many under colour of devotion resorted thither, and in a small time it grew to the grandeur of a city; which is supposed to have stood where now Medina Sidonia is; which, says Mariana, the name Sidon seems to confirm, and the small distance from the coast of the isle of Cadiz: that after this, they took and built several small towns,

(1) De Situ. lib. III. c. vi.

(2) Lib. IV. c. xxii.

and possessed themselves of the city Turditum, which stood betwixt Xeres and Arcos; of this city the Turditani, an ancient people of Bætica, that extended from the Guadiana to the ocean, took their name: that the Bastuli reached from Tarifa along the Mediterranean sea, to a town called Barea, now supposed to be Vera: and that the Turduli began at the port of Mnestheus, now port St. Mary's, and ran north and east, as far as Sierra Morena, and the furthest part of the province of Bætica.

The natives, provoked by the wrongs which they received from the Phœnicians, and growing jealous of their new city of Medina Sidonia, appointed Baucius Capetus, prince of the Turditani, to command their army: having gathered a mighty one, they fell upon the Phœnicians wholly unprovided, and in a short time took all the towns they had built, and gave the plunder of all their riches to their soldiers. The city Medina Sidonia followed the fate of the rest, and all the inhabitants were put to the sword; such was their desire of revenge, that laying aside all compassion and zeal for religion, they fired, and laid the temple level with the ground! Thus all the riches they had many years been heaping, and the stately buildings they had with great cost been erecting, were destroyed, and nothing left the Phœnicians on the continent. The inhabitants therefore of Cadiz finding they could have no accommodation with the natives, were obliged to ask aid of the Carthaginians, as relief from Tyre was too tedious: the Carthaginians being masters of the sea, were determined not to let slip so fair an opportunity. Till this time, continues this Spanish author, they never had a footing in Spain: that the command of the fleet was given to Mahербal, who arrived at Cadiz, says he, in the two hundred and thirty-sixth year after the building of Rome: that from this time they ravaged the coasts of Spain, and raised forts along the shores in several places. The Spaniards being provoked again, chose Baucius their general, in the city of Turditum, who gathered what men he could, and surprised a
fort

fort near that city, putting the garrison to the sword, but Mahermal escaped with some few by a by-way: this done, Baucius made a great slaughter of the enemy in several places, which occasioned an immediate truce. The Carthaginians fortified themselves along the coast, and now and then made incursions, at the same time blaming the insolence of the soldiers; and by this stratagem deluded that ignorant people. Baucius died, and the Carthaginians made war upon the Phœnicians, conquered them, and expelled them the isle of Cadiz.

Authors will have it, says Mariana, that at the siege of Gadir, one Pephastmenes, a Tyrian, invented the engine called aries, or the battering-ram.

What happened in these parts of Spain, after these times, I have already related in the foregoing sheets; I shall only for the present observe, that Mariana imputes the Herculean columns to the Grecian Hercules; for he says, that Jason, the Thesfalian, desiring to gain honour and enrich himself, built a great ship, and taking into it Hercules the Theban, Orpheus, Castor, Pollux, and many more, after pillaging all the coasts of Asia, came as far as the mouth of the Straits, where Hercules built a fort called Heraclea, now Gibraltar; whence they made incursions, robbing the country, and had several encounters with the natives; thence they sailed about to Saguntum, and were well received, as being all Greeks: from Saguntum they went over to Majorca, and took Bocorris, the king of that island; but understanding there was no gold there, having taken in provisions, and some large oxen, they passed into Italy, where Hercules flew Cacus, and then returned into Greece. Hecateus denies that ever this Hercules came into Spain; but, says father Mariana, Diodorus and all other authors testify to the contrary.

I shall not dispute whether this Hercules came into Spain or not; but the Greeks were as fond to attribute all the noble actions of other nations to themselves, as the French nation are to theirs:

theirs: but the Greeks were mere children to the Phœnicians or Egyptians; and have assumed the exploits of the ancient Hercules to their own; and it would be tedious and endless to enter upon their various assumptions.

I shall now just mention some events as they occur, before I begin the history of Calpe.

Mariana writes, that there was a bloody war began betwixt this province of Bætica and the Lusitani, nations divided by the river Guadiana: its beginning, says he, was from small quarrels among the shepherds. The Carthaginians sided with the Lusitani: and a great neighbouring city, supposed to be Iberia, assisted those of Bætica, now Andalusia. The rage on both sides was so great, that the very women took up arms; at length they came to a battle, and had eighty thousand men slain, and among them the commander in chief of the Carthaginians. Mago, the Carthaginian, hearing of this battle, left the Balearic isles, (Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica) to assist his countrymen, and obliged the people of the city, who had sustained great loss in the action, to fire it, and seek new places to inhabit.

Nothing remarkable happened in Spain (3), till the year of Rome three hundred and twenty-seven, in the time of the Peloponnesian war: in the second whereof, a terrible plague raged all over the world. In Sicily, at this time, the Carthaginians were possessed of some towns near the promontory Lilybæum, not far from Trepana, which was a great eye-sore to the people of Agrigentum, now Gergento. It happened as the Carthaginians were offering sacrifice in a wood, the Agrigentines fell upon them, and slaughtered the whole, except a few that fled, and lurked in the woods. The news having spread to Carthage, they sent two thousand men, and five hundred Malorquines with slings. By this reinforcement they were enabled to vanquish their enemies,

(3) Vid. Mariana's Hist. of Spain.

and

and to make themselves masters of Agrigentum, after a siege of two years, in the year of Rome three hundred and forty-six: the end of this war was the beginning of a greater; for Dionysius, the tyrant of Syracuse, upon that isle, taking under his protection those that fled from Agrigentum, the Carthaginians, having to do with so powerful an enemy, restored Cadiz to the Spaniards, to oblige them; and only kept the temple of Hercules, and some small forts, raised an army under Himilco Cipo, of fifteen thousand African foot, and five thousand horse, besides ten thousand Spaniards, and with this force he entered Sicily. About this time, the Carthaginians discovered an island in the vast Atlantic ocean; some of the people remained in it, but the rest returned and gave an account of what they had seen to the senate of Carthage: where, as Aristotle says, this discovery ought to be concealed; and to that purpose, the discoverers were put to death, lest the citizens, allured by the riches of the isle, and weary of war, should abandon the city. Some, continues Mariana, are of opinion, it was one of the Canaries; others, that it was Hispaniola, or some part of the continent of America.

After this, Hanno was sent to govern Cadiz; but he being very covetous, it provoked the Spaniards to conspire against the Carthaginians: all on a sudden they appeared in arms, slew many of their enemies, and plundered their goods: upon this, Hanno sent to Carthage for succour: these auxiliaries made great havock in Andalusia. Hanno was succeeded, but by whom, is not known, which was about the year of Rome three hundred and ninety-eight, which was before the birth of Christ three hundred and fifty. The war now which employed the Carthaginians in Sicily, gave peace to Spain. The governour, who succeeded Hanno, dying, one Boodes was sent in his place; and, after him, Matherbal, but no account can be had of any actions of theirs, or what governour followed Boodes.

The

The year of Rome five hundred and seven, and last of the Punic war, was fatal to Spain, for a great drought and violent earthquakes; by which, part of the island of Gades was broken off, and sunk into the sea.

Hamilcar came to Cadiz a second time, and by the assistance of the Turditani, who were always in amity with the Carthaginians, not only recovered that part which had been lost, but also possessed himself of all the province of Bætica, in the year of Rome five hundred and sixteen. Strabo says, that the Spaniards at that time were so rich, that their mangers and water-troughs were made of silver.

After this, there were some disturbances in the province of Bætica; and Hamilcar was slain by the natives in battle with those people, about the ninth year after this his second coming into Spain. The action was so bloody, that of above forty thousand men he had in his army, two thirds were slaughtered, the rest of them, under favour of the night, escaped to the neighbouring towns that had held out for them. Livy says, this battle was fought near a place called Castrum Altum.

After this signal defeat, the Carthaginian forces were turned against the province of Bætica, or Andalusia, where they totally subverted a colony of Phoenicians. The name of it is not known.

Asdrubal succeeded Hamilcar, and went to Cadiz in the five hundred and twenty-fourth year of Rome: he settled the affairs of Spain in peace, then sailed to Carthage, and soon after returned to Gadir, marched into Spain and built New Carthage, now Carthagera.

Hannibal arrived in Spain, and joined him as his lieutenant, in the year of Rome five hundred and twenty-eight. Asdrubal being slain by a slave while he was offering sacrifice, the government was conferred upon Hannibal: and when he marched for Italy, he left the command in Spain to his brother Asdrubal.

After

After this, the Romans entered Spain, and the actions between them, the Carthaginians, and Spaniards, in this province of Bætica, I have already related, but shall touch upon some affairs that have happened in this part of Spain, as I find them in Mariana apart from other authors: so I find that Mummius made great slaughter of the Spaniards, whose poor remains retreated to Cadiz, where they embarked, and went over into Africa.

As there is something noble in the war which Veriatus waged with the Romans, and as some of the scenes of action lie in Bætica, near Tarifa and Cadiz, with two remarkable inscriptions, I beg leave to give a place in these sheets of that whole war.

The shocking cruelty of Galba to the inhabitants of Spain, instead of terrifying, increased the people's hatred: they chose Veriatus for their chieftain; he was a native of Lusitania, of mean parentage, as being in his youth a shepherd: leaving that course of life, he fell to robbing, and having by degrees got together a good number of men, made excursions into the neighbouring country subject to the Romans, about the mouth of the river Guadiana. Marcus Vitellius succeeded Galba in his command, in the year of Rome six hundred and four; his first care was in time to suppress Veriatus, who, leaving Lusitania, passed the Strait of Cadiz, and kept himself in the fastnesses, resolving not to come to a battle: on the other side, the prætor having beset those places, so straitened those mutineers, that they under-hand began to treat of submitting. Vitellius willingly gave ear to them, but Veriatus, understanding what was in hand, dissuaded his men, and having brought them to his beck, drew out as if he intended to fight: he placed his cavalry in the front, while his foot stole away through the woods, and then they all made to Tribola, a city, where Veriatus hoped to make good his ground, and protract the war; the Romans pursuing, near the city he laid in ambush, where four thousand of them were killed, together with their prætor; the rest fled to Tarifa, whence offering again to hazard a battle, with the

assistance of the Celtiberi, they were all cut off. In the year six hundred and five, Caius Plaucius succeeded Vitellius as prætor of Hispania Ulterior: at the time of his coming, Veriatus ravaged the lands of the Turditani and Carpetani. As soon as the Romans came in sight, he made a shew of flying, and they pursuing him without order, he faced about and cut off four thousand of the foremost. The prætor still followed them as far as the mountain of Venus, where Veriatus, after passing the Tagus, was retired: here again they engaged, and no less a number of the Romans were slain than before, which so terrified the prætor, that though it was in the midst of summer, he shut himself within the strong towns as if it had been the dead of winter. This battle is believed by some to have been fought in Lusitania, near the city Ebora, by reason of a tomb preserved there to this day, with a Latin inscription, to this effect: "I LVCIVS SILO SABINVS, BEING STRVCK THROUGH
 " WITH MANY DARTS AND ARROWS, IN THE WAR AGAINST
 " VERIATVS, IN THE TERRITORY OF EBORA, IN THE PROVINCE
 " OF LVSITANIA, AND CARRIED OFF VPON SOLDIERS SHOVL-
 " DERS, ORDERED CAIVS PLAVCIVS, THE PRÆTOR, TO BVILD
 " THIS TOMB, AT MY COST, AND THEREIN WOVL D I HAVE NO
 " OTHER PERSON LAID, WHETHER FREE, OR A SLAVE; IF THE
 " CONTRARY SHOVL D HAPPEN, I DESIRE THAT THE BONES OF
 " ANY OTHER TO BE TAKEN OVT OF MY TOMB, IF MY COVN-
 " TRY BE FREE."

In the mean time Galba was impeached at Rome for his perfidiousness towards the Lusitanians; but the great riches which he had gathered in that province, brought him off, though Cato and Scribonius the tribune accused him: after this, in the year six hundred and six, Claudius Unimanus was sent from Rome to the war against Veriatus, and was by him vanquished, himself slain, great part of his army slaughtered, and the Fasces, which were ensigns of his dignity, set up as trophies on the mountains of Lusitania. This battle was fought near the town of Urige in Portugal,

tugal, as appears by a stone there, which is one of the most notable Roman monuments in Spain; the inscription it bears, only supplying a few letters, is as follows: "I CAIVS MINVCIVS, SON TO CAIVS
" LEMONIA LVBATVS, TRIBVNE OF THE LEGION DECIMA GE-
" MINA, WHOM THE GENERAL CLAVDIVS VNIMANVS LEFT
" FOR DEAD, BECAUSE SENSELESS OF MY WOVNDS, BEING PRE-
" SERVED BY THE CARE OF EBVTIVS, A LVSITANIAN SOLDIER,
" AND DRESSED, LIVED SOME DAYS, AND DIED WITH SORROW,
" FOR NOT GRATIFYING, AFTER THE ROMAN MANNER, HIM
" THAT HAD WELL DESERVED IT." The following year, which was six hundred and seven, Caius Nigidius, prætor, was sent instead of him that was killed: he fought with Veriatus, near the city Visco, in Lusitania, or Portugal, and with the like success to the former. After Nigidius, C. Lelius, surnamed the Wise, came into Spain, and was the first that broke Veriatus, being a man that relied more on policy, than open force, and hereby gained great renown. In the year six hundred and nine, Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, being consul, came into Spain, and the senate, there being a scarcity of old soldiers, made new levies, and raised fifteen thousand foot and two thousand horse: these forces landed at Orfuna, supposed to be Offuna, in Andalusia: here the consul kept and trained his new soldiers. He himself went to Cadiz to offer sacrifice and make his vows in the temple of Hercules. On the other side, Veriatus having intelligence of the preparations made by the Romans, resolved to meet them: his coming was unexpected, so he slew the Roman foragers, and their guards. The consul being returned from Cadiz, notwithstanding Veriatus offered him battle, for some days refused it, only skirmishing, to try his men, and shew them that the enemy was to be overcome. At length he drew out, and in a pitched battle put Veriatus to flight. Winter then drawing on, the Romans marched to Cordova, where they wintered; but Veriatus continued in the mountains, his men being more hardy, and inured to the cold:

thence he sent to all parts for succours, but particularly to the Arevaci, Beli, and Tithii. Those people willingly gave ear to the propofals, which gave occafion to the fecond war of Numantia.

At Rome, in the year fix hundred and ten, the two confuls, Servilius Sulpicius Galba, and L. Aurelius Cotta, contended for the government of Spain; the fenate could not agree about it; and Scipio being asked which of them he thought the moft able, answered, "Neither; for the one has nothing, and the other never "enough:" hereby fhewing, that neither a poor, nor a covetous man is fit to govern: whereupon the prætor Popilius was fent. Veriatus gave Quintius a great overthrow at the foot of mount Venus. Metellus fubdued the Celtiberi, who was continued in his command in the year fix hundred and twelve; and the conful Q. Fabius Servilius was fent againft Veriatus with eighteen thoufand foot, and fifteen hundred horfe: befides thofe forces, Micipfa the fon of Maffiniffa, fent him ten elephants, and three hundred horfe out of Afric. Notwithstanding all this mighty army, joined to what was before in the Roman pay, Veriatus, who lay hid in the mountains of Andalufia, with frequent excursions did great damage, and obtained many advantages, till the Romans removed their camp to Utica, formerly a city of Andalufia: then Veriatus, for want of provifions, retired with his army into Lufitania. The conful overcame two captains of robbers, called Curio and Apuleius, and carried fome towns by force that held for Veriatus, with ftrong garrifons. A great booty was taken, and a multitude of prifoners, five hundred that were moft guilty he put to death, and ten thoufand he fold as flaves. Metellus gained much honour by entirely reducing the Celtiberi, and taking the famous cities Contrebia, Verfobriga, and Centobriga; then hearing, that the conful Quintus Pompeius was appointed to fucceed him, he was fo offended at it, that to weaken his forces, he difmiffed the foldiers, neglected the magazines, and ftarved the elephants;

phants ; for which reason, the triumph he had otherwise well deserved, was refused him at Rome. Quintus Pompeius came to Spain in the year six hundred and thirteen ; Servilianus was continued by order of the senate in his command, where he received into his favour Canoba, a captain of robbers, who submitted himself, and forced Veriatus, who lay before the city Vacia, to raise his siege and fly away ; as he was active and vigilant, so was he cruel ; for he cut off the hands of all Canoba's men, and five hundred other prisoners, because they had deserted from his camp. The Romans laying siege to the city Erifana, Veriatus, without being discovered, got in by night, and the next morning made such a furious sally, that he put the enemy to flight, killing many of them ; those that escaped, drew up in a place of no strength, where they were in danger of perishing ; but Veriatus took hold of this opportunity to obtain an advantageous peace, which was concluded, and by virtue thereof, the Romans saved their lives. Veriatus was called a friend of the people of Rome, and all that his men had plundered, was allowed them : a great shame and dishonour to the majesty of the Roman empire !

Quintus Pompeius held the government of Hispania Citerior two years. Servilius, who, by order of the senate, had vacated the peace he had made before, near the city Arsa put Veriatus to the rout, and pursued him to Carpetania, where by a stratagem he got away : he drew out his men, as if intended to give battle, placing his horse in front, and whilst the Romans were forming their body, caused his foot to slip away through the woods that were near : that done, the horse with the same swiftness got off. The consul, despairing of taking so subtle an enemy, marched to the Oectones in Estremadura ; and from thence, without stopping, into Galicia, where all was in disorder, and full of murders and robberies. Veriatus, tired with so lasting a war, and fearing his men should make their peace at the price of his head, sent three
ambassadors

ambassadors to treat with the consul. The means he chose to secure himself, proved his ruin; for Servilius corrupted the ambassadors, who, at their return, murdered Veriatus as he lay sleeping. His funeral was honoured with the tears of his soldiers, afterwards with sports, and the sacrifice of much cattle. The murderers petitioning the senate at Rome, for a reward of their service, received answer, "That the senate and people of Rome did not approve of soldiers killing their general." To Veriatus succeeded in the command, one Tantalus; but he not being of equal authority, valour, and conduct, soon submitted himself to the consul, and was received into favour: these and the other Lusitani were disarmed, and lands allotted them.

Marcus Crassus (the richest citizen of Rome) whose father and mother had been put to death, fled into Spain, where he had many friends, on account of favours they had received from his father; but most towns being of Marius's faction, he durst not appear in public, and therefore hid himself in a cave, which was in the land of one Vibius Pacianus, an intimate friend of his, who being informed of his coming, lest his going to see him might cause some suspicion, ordered a slave every day to leave such provisions as he would give him, upon a certain rock, threatening him with death, if he ventured to see who it was for, or disclose the secret. In this manner Crassus lived for some time, till the news was brought that Marius and Cinna were overthrown by Sylla: then coming out of the cave, by fair means he drew to his party many cities of Spain, and among them Malaga, which, nevertheless, was plundered by the soldiers, against his will, as he pretended, but perhaps he only counterfeited, and had permitted it, to gain the good will of the army. The cave where Crassus lay hid, is shewn to this day, betwixt Ronda and Gibraltar, near a town called Ximena, in which, it is said, are all the marks that Plutarch gives of it, concludes my author Mariana: however, as he

he has quoted Plutarch, the reader cannot be displeased with my relating this affair from Plutarch himself: when Cinna and Marius, says Plutarch (4), had got the power in their hands, it was soon perceived, that they came not for any good they intended to their country, but with a design to ruin and extirpate the nobility; for they slew as many as they could lay their hands on, amongst whom was Crassus, his father, and brother; as for himself, being very young, for the present he escaped the danger; but understanding that he was every way beset, and hunted after by the tyrants, taking with him three friends and ten servants, with all possible speed he fled into Spain, where he had formerly contracted a great acquaintance, while his father was prætor of that country; but finding all people in a consternation, and dreading the cruelty of Marius, as if he was already at their doors, he durst not discover himself to any body, but lay hid in a spacious cave near the sea shore, belonging to Vibius Pacianus, to whom he sent one of his servants to sound him, for among his other necessities he began to be in want of provisions. Vibius was well pleased at his escape, and enquiring of his servant the place of his abode, and the number of his companions, he went not to him himself for fear of suspicion, but commanded his steward to provide every day a good meal's meat, and carry it, and leave it upon such a stone, and so return without taking any further notice, or being inquisitive, promising him his liberty if he did as he commanded, and threatening to kill him if he did otherwise. The cave is not far from the sea, made by closing together of some cliffs, through the chinks of which enters a refreshing and delicate gale. When you are entered, you find a wonderful high roof, and a great many very large rooms one within another; neither is it void of water or light, for a very pleasant and wholesome spring runs through the cliffs, and the natural chinks let in the

(4) In Vit. Crassus.

light all day long: the air within is pure and clear, that which is foggy and unhealthy being carried away with the stream. While Crassus remained here, the steward brought them what was necessary, but never saw them, nor knew any thing of the matter, though they within, expecting him at customary times, watched his coming, and saw him every day: neither was their entertainment such as just to keep them aliye, but very plentiful and delicious; for Pacianus treated him with all imaginable civility; and considering he was a young gentleman, he resolved to gratify a little his youthful inclinations; for to give just what is needful, seems rather to come from a stranger than from a hearty friend: taking with him therefore two handsome damsels, he shewed them the place, and bid them go in boldly, assuring them they were in no danger. When Crassus and his friends saw them, they concluded they were betrayed; wherefore demanding what they were, and what they would have, they, according as they were instructed, answered, "They came to wait upon their master, who lay concealed in that cave." Upon this, Crassus perceiving it to be a piece of gallantry in Vibius in order to divert him, he took the damsels to him, and kept them with him as long as he staid. They gave an account to Vibius from time to time of what they wanted, and how their case stood. One of these ladies, though she was then very old, Fenestella says, he had seen, and often heard her tell the story.

When Crassus had laid concealed there eight months, as soon as he understood Cinna was dead, he made no scruple of appearing publicly: immediately a great number of people resorted to him, out of which he selected two thousand five hundred, with whom he visited many of the cities as they lay in his way; and many write, that he sacked the town of Malaga, though he very obstinately denied it: hence, getting together some ships, he passed into Africa, and joined Metellus Pius, an eminent person, that had raised a very considerable army; but upon some difference
between

between him and Metellus, he staid not long there, but went over to Sylla, by whom he was very much esteemed.

Pompey was first in Spain, and gained the affections of the Spaniards, particularly in the province of Bætica, before Cæsar came into that country, whose estimation was continued to his memory by the services they rendered to his sons. Julius Cæsar entered the country in the six hundred and eighty-fifth year of Rome. In seven hundred and one Pompey married Julia, the daughter of Cæsar, but when Julia died, the knot which held them together was untied: and each strove for the sovereignty of the world, whence ensued that civil war, the effects whereof were felt throughout the Roman empire.

Varro, who was in Spain, robbed the temple of Hercules, standing in Cadiz, of all its treasure, though then esteemed one of the most sacred places in the world. The year seven hundred and six was famous for the victories obtained by Cæsar at Pharsalia, over Pompey the Great; and in Egypt over Ptolemy: thence Cæsar returned to Rome, and hastened over into Africa, where he vanquished Juba, and the Romans who adhered to that king. In seven hundred and nine was fought the famous battle of Munda, between Cæsar and the young Pompeys: the latter lost thirty thousand foot, and three thousand horse. Cæsar lost but one thousand, and five hundred wounded. The town of Munda, says Mariana, is six leagues from Malaga; which is twenty-four of our English miles. Cæsar, speaking of this action, used to say, "That he had often fought for honour and glory, but that day he fought for his life." Mariana says, he took Cordova by assault, and put to the sword twenty thousand of the citizens, who had followed Pompey's faction: that Cæsar having gathered vast sums of money, to effect which he spared not the temple of Hercules, and returned to Rome.

There are, says this author, (i. e. Mariana) many monuments of this war in Spain, and particularly at Talavera; where, on that

part of the wall, opposite to St. Peter's church, these words were in his days to be seen, cut in stone, "TO CNEIVS POMPEY, THE SON OF POMPEY THE GREAT."

Spain was entirely subdued by Augustus in the one hundred and ninety-eighth year after their first entrance under the command of Cneius Cepius Calvus; which was a longer time than they spent in conquering any other province. I shall not recapitulate, and therefore step forwards to the time when those powers of fierce and barbarous nations, which, like a torrent, spread themselves throughout all Spain, and fixed themselves in different parts of the country: and this province of Bætica fell to the Vandals and Silingians. In the year four hundred and twelve of Christ, Gundericus was king of the Vandals and Silingians: the Silingians were defeated by the Goths, in a battle near Tarifa, and so entirely brought under, that they received Gothic governours: the Vandals and Suevians, terrified at this success, submitted themselves to the Romans.

Genfericus, king of the Vandals, passed over into Africa, with eighty thousand fighting men: the Silingians staid in Spain, especially in that part of this province of Bætica about Seville; upon which account, they being mixed with, and esteemed part of the Vandals, the country losing its former name of Bætica, was called Vandalusia, now Andalusia.

Leuvigildus, king of the Goths, in the year of Christ five hundred and seventy-two, made war on the Romans: they came to a battle among the Bastetani, where now stands the city Baca: the Romans were defeated, and by that means expelled the whole province: the country about Malaga was laid waste with fire and sword. Medina Sidonia was taken by night, being betrayed by Framidancus.

In the year six hundred and sixty, the power of the Mahometans grew formidable in Afric, for Abdalla, duke of Moabia, the fourth from the false prophet, in a great battle overthrew
Gregory,

Gregory, the Roman general and governour of Africa for the Romans, and by that means possessed himself of all that vast province. The Goths of old were masters of Mauritania Tingitana, and particularly of Ceuta, and the country about it: all the rest, except this part, fell into the hands of the Mahometans, who, proud with success, from that time founded a new empire in Afric, in whose kings, according to the custom of those people, was the spiritual, as well as temporal power, called Miramamolines, which signifies princes of the faithful; as those of the same name in Asia, stiled themselves Caliphs.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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who, proud with success, from that time founded a new empire
in Africa, in whole kings according to the custom of those people,
was the principal, as well as temporal power, called Mauritania-
luna, which signifies prince of the moon; as that of the same
name in Asia, called Hyrcania, signifies prince of the sea.
The Romans, who were not so happy in Africa as in Asia, and
who were not so successful in their wars, as the Africans were
in theirs, were obliged to leave the country, and to retire
into the mountains, where they were secure from the
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luna, which signifies prince of the moon; as that of the same
name in Asia, called Mauritania Calpurnia, signifies prince of the
calpurnia, or of the calpurnia, a name which was given to the
country by the Romans, and which was afterwards changed into
Mauritania, and then into Mauritania, and finally into Mauritania.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

James, Thomas

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